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## THE DARK AGES IN AMERICA.

**N**OTHING that I know is much more amusing in the light of recent developments in history in English-speaking countries than to go back to the sources of information with regard to the Catholic Church and her institutions which people generally here in America trusted implicitly about the middle of the nineteenth century. Only the actual consultation of the popular books will enable one to see what caricatures of anything like the real facts passed for gospel truth among our dear good old-fashioned Americans of two generations ago—I mean of course the reasonably well-read ones—for as to the ideas absorbed by the un-educated the less said the better, they were such utterly ridiculous absurdities when not palpable history lies.

A few years ago, in the "Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia," Right Rev. Monsignor McDevitt, then Superintendent of Parochial Schools of Philadelphia and now Bishop of Harrisburg, published an article on how bigotry was kept alive by old-time school text books. He called attention to the fact that the elementary text books of geography and history were the commonest medium for the propagation of anti-Catholic hostility. All the peoples of the Catholic countries were set down as ignorant, superstitious, indolent, with the lower classes living in wretchedness, dirt and dishonesty; the middle classes, dishonest and indecent; the upper classes voluptuous, amorous and licentious. These are all expressions taken from actual text books with regard to the Italians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, while the Protestant nations, even

the English, in spite of the very strong patriotic feeling against them because of the Revolution and the War of 1812, were, nevertheless, represented as learned, just, sturdy of temper, sober and not easily deluded. The exception in Great Britain of course was the Irish, who were "ignorant, intemperate and vicious, easily excited to acts of violence and with difficulty restrained by the law."

The basis of the traditional misunderstanding of the South American peoples is easy to understand after reading some of the abstracts of these books that Monsignor McDevitt published. At a time when the universities of Spanish America were in many places considered to be on a level with the European universities and exchanged students and professors with them, while our universities in the United States were and rightly, because of their low standards, scarcely considered to be on the same footing at all, derogatory remarks about the utter lack of education in South America were commonplaces in our teaching. No wonder that university professors who visited South America toward the end of the nineteenth century should have found themselves compelled to declare that it was time for us "to discover South America." The real cultural status of that continent had been utterly hidden from us by the cloud of misrepresentation consequent upon religious prejudices. It is rather amusing now to look back and see the supreme self-confidence with which the people of the United States, whose own education at that time was, as we realize now, at a very low ebb, so that our law schools and medical schools were often a disgrace and our so-called university standards were childish and universities merely trained undergraduates and had none of that cultivation of original research which should characterize universities, yet made so little of the South American countries, whom Bourne, of Yale, told us not long since had been until the early nineteenth century far ahead of the United States.

Such teaching had an enduring effect on young impressionable minds, and it becomes easy to understand how peoples educated in this way could not be brought later on to have any sympathy with Catholics or with the Church, but, on the contrary, felt that it was an institution to be discouraged and even suppressed by every possible means. It was not only school text books, however, that cultivated this spirit of bitter intolerance, but it was many other sources of information. The books written for family reading and copies of which were found in a great many of the households of the better informed classes were full of the same sort of misinformation. I have thought that a series of quotations from some of these might illustrate what sort of misinformation was being distributed even up to and well beyond the middle of the

nineteenth century and how bigotry and misunderstanding were deliberately fostered, though very probably without fault in the majority of instances, since it was done by people who knew no better. They had been brought up to see things just this way; they had put a barrier in their minds against inquiry in certain directions, and they merely sought for confirmation in history of previously accepted notions and quite unconsciously refused to look at the other side.

The picture of Ireland as presented in some of these quotations made by Monsignor McDevitt is particularly interesting. According to "A New System of Modern Geography," by Benjamin Davis, published in 1815, "Ireland being now happily united with England," there was some hope for her progress and intellectual advancement. Happily, too, "Protestantism increases every year" on the island, and this notwithstanding the fact that "Catholics retain their nominal Bishops and dignitaries, who subsist by the voluntary contributions of their votaries" because of the blind superstition and ignorance of the people. This is not surprising, however, for nothing was too impossible to say of a Catholic country. About the time that this geography was published Austria was the intellectual leader of Europe with a group of modern writers whose names are still well known. The Empress Therese was probably more largely responsible for this than any other. Here is how her influence is summed up for rising young Americans: "The Empress Therese instituted schools for the education of children, but none for the education of teachers. Hence children are taught metaphysics before they know Latin, and a blind veneration for the monks forms one of the first exertions of nascent reason. The universities, like those in other Catholic countries, do little to promote the progress of solid knowledge."

Above all, it is interesting to go back to the historical ideas which were industriously propagated about the time when because of the famine at home in Ireland the Irish were coming over in large numbers. Even a little knowledge of the sort of information supplied to Americans generally at that time with regard to the Irish and their Church enables us to understand something of the attitude which the native Americans must have taken toward those Catholic immigrants who were coming literally, as they said themselves, in such droves to our shores. No wonder with what our Americans, above all the young, had been taught about the Irish and their Catholicism, that the poor immigrants were despised, misunderstood, scarcely considered as belonging to the same race of men at all as the enlightened inhabitants of America, amongst whom they had been rudely thrust by the necessities of their home

life consequent upon the awful abuse of misgovernment of the sister island by the English.

There recently came into my hands one of the old-fashioned books of this time, a copy of "Peter Parley's" "Universal History for the Use of Families." This was one of the most popular mediums of information for general purposes in the mid-nineteenth century, especially here in the North and East. I mean in the Middle States and New England, of course, for there was little West to speak of at that time. The copy of the book that I have bears the date 1845, but was copyrighted in the year 1837, and was already in its tenth edition. Books did not sell in those days in anything like the way they do at the present time, so this must have been a veritable "best seller" of the period. It had a publisher in New York, Nafis & Cornish (387 Pearl street), and another in Philadelphia, J. P. Perry (198 Market street). It was issued in two volumes, illustrated by maps and engravings, and because of the many illustrations, altogether many hundreds in number, must have been a rather taking book with the young. It represents, therefore, a summary of the earliest historical ideas that found entrance into the minds of American young folks just before 1850. The notions thus secured were consciously or unconsciously to form the background of all their knowledge and to modify all the information that came to them in after life.

"Peter Parley" was the pen name of Samuel Griswold Goodrich, born at Ridgefield, Conn., August 19, 1793; died at New York, May 9, 1860. He published a number of other juvenile works besides this universal history, "A History of the Animal Kingdom," and other such compilations of knowledge. He was a nephew of Chauncey Allen Goodrich, the rather well-known American scholar, who was one of the editors of Webster's Dictionary after 1828. The family name then became associated with the idea of scholarship in this country, so that it was no wonder that the information supplied in the "Universal History" was swallowed unquestioningly by a great many people of the time.

"Peter Parley" insists that he has written for the young and that that is the real reason for saying on the title page that it is designed for families. He wishes it to be permitted to enter the family circle and take its chance to make its way. He ventures to suggest that "if it is placed not as a task book, but rather as a story-teller on the table, perhaps the children may patronize it; perchance the parents may deign to look into it." Its arrangement is really well thought out, the chapters are short and questions are added at the end. A number of anecdotes and sketches are inserted, many of them of historical value, "hoping thereby to reconcile the

reader to the dryer part of the work." The author confesses that he has "spiced his chapters with tales and legends and sprinkled in many engravings," for he would gain the attention of the young "by every available art, so that they may be tempted to extract useful lessons from the history of old times and gain a knowledge of events." He has succeeded quite well in what he proposes, and after looking the book over it is not surprising that it should have been popular and that "Peter Parley's" name almost literally became a household word in America.

The author is modest enough in his preface, and confesses in the first paragraph that "the idea of embracing in the compass of these two little volumes anything like a tolerable outline of universal history would doubtless excite a smile on the lip of a college professor, should he ever condescend to peep into our humble title page. But let my object be clearly understood, and I hope the attempt I have here made may not be deemed either ridiculous or presuming."

Perhaps for some of us the most interesting passages in this universal history will be found in the chapter on Ireland. It is called very frankly "About Ireland," and the material that it contains is certainly far enough away from the realities of Irish history to make it perfectly clear that it is only "around and about" the subject that the author ever got. He confesses that the history of Ireland, or "Green Erin" as it is called, though I fear that that designation will be new to most of us, is full of interesting matter, and he is sorry that he can only bestow upon it one brief chapter.

The early history before the coming of Christianity is dismissed with the few brief words that the first inhabitants "were hard-fisted Celts who fought with clubs and seemed to love fighting better than feasting." They were constantly quarreling with each other, so that they had plenty of their favorite sport. Of course, I suppose that dear old "Peter Parley" must be excused for knowing nothing about the rather high civilization, or at least fine literature that was produced in Ireland at this time, for that is generally a matter of later knowledge. Until the coming of Patrick, however, fighting was all that there was to say about Ireland and the Irish.

At least the author of the universal history was willing to admit that St. Patrick was a Catholic. I believe that some of our separated brethren have in recent years suggested the possibility that the dear old Irish saint was really a pre-Reformation reformer, and the Baptists have set up a claim that he was rather closely related to them. One modern Irishman remarked that if St. Patrick meant to make Baptists of the Irish he made a very bad job of it, though *very* was not the word that the Irishman used. "Peter

Parley" confesses "the saint was a Roman Catholic and the greater part of the people are Catholics to this day." It was the fashion just then in America, for the memory of the Revolution was strong and recollections of the War of 1812 rankled, to criticize the English Government for its management of colonies and subject peoples, and so "Peter Parley" says that the Irish "are dissatisfied with English government, and well they may be, for its conduct has been selfish, cruel and unwise." This gives occasion to remark that "it is some consolation to know that such a country as America exists, in which the oppressed Irish may find an asylum."

St. Patrick was, however, too fruitful a subject in interest to dismiss so briefly as this, so "Peter Parley" took occasion to introduce one of the tales or legends with which he confesses that he spiced his chapters. For this reason readers were regaled with some very interesting paragraphs with regard to St. Patrick, meant to attract the attention of rising young America and make it feel how foolish and superstitious and ignorant were these Papist Irish, who knew no better than to believe all these rigmaroles. He said:

"Among the curious notions still entertained by the Irish with regard to St. Patrick is this: In Ireland there are no serpents or venomous reptiles, and the people firmly believe that St. Patrick put an end to them and freed the island from them all forever.

"At the Lake of Killarney the peasants still preserve the following ludicrous tradition: When the labors of St. Patrick were drawing to a close there was one enormous serpent who stoutly refused to emigrate and baffled the attempts of the good saint for a long time.

"He haunted the romantic shores of Killarney, and was so well pleased with his place of residence that he never contemplated the prospect of removing without a deep sigh. At length St. Patrick, having procured a large oaken chest with nine strong bolts to secure its lid, took it on his shoulder one fine sunshiny morning and trudged over to Killarney, where he found the serpent basking in the sun.

"'Good Morrow to ye!' cried the saint. 'Bad luck to ye!' replied the serpent. 'Not so, my friend,' replied the good saint; 'you speak unwisely; I'm your friend. To prove which haven't I brought you over this beautiful house as a shelter to you? So be aisy, me darlint.' But the serpent, being a cunning reptile, understood what blarney meant as well as the saint himself.

"Still, not wishing to affront his apparently friendly visitor, he said, by way of excuse, that the chest was not large enough for him. St. Patrick assured him that it would accommodate him very well. 'Just get into it, me darlint, and see how aisy you'll be.'

The serpent thought to cheat the saint, so he whipped into the chest, but left an inch or two of his tail hanging out over the edge,

"I told you so," said he; "there's not room for the whole of me!" "Take care of your tail, me darlint!" cried the saint, as he whacked the lid down upon the serpent. In an instant the tail disappeared and St. Patrick proceeded to fasten all the bolts. He then took the chest on his shoulders. "Let me out!" cried the serpent. "Aisy," cried the saint; "I'll let you out to-morrow."

"So saying, he threw the box into the waters of the lake, to the bottom of which it sank to rise no more. But for ever afterwards the fishermen affirmed that they heard the voice of the poor cheated reptile eagerly inquiring 'Is to-morrow come yet? Is to-morrow come yet?' So much for St. Patrick."

What an interesting interlude that story makes for a "Universal History for Family Use" calculated especially for children!

For St. Patrick, however, the author has some good words, though surely if ever there was damning by faint praise it is to be found here. Two of the paragraphs are just full of information that must have been formative of many misunderstandings with regard to the poor Irish who were just then flocking into the country in such large numbers. The "Universal History" says (page 207):

"He seems to have been a wise and good man, and the people liked him very much. So they adopted Christianity, and under its influence gradually became *somewhat* civilized. Patrick lived to a great age, but at length he was buried at Doune.

"When he was gone the people told pretty' large stories about him, and finally they considered him more holy than other men and called him a saint. To this day they consider St. Patrick as in heaven watching over the interests of Ireland. They pray to him, and to do him honor set apart one day in the year for going to church, drinking whisky and breaking each other's heads with clubs."

This would serve to show the enlightened Americans what foolish, ignorant, credulous—yes, even barbarous people the newcomers were. It is easy to understand, then, that with supposed knowledge of this kind before them Americans found it hard to understand the Irish and their ways, and above all to have any proper appreciation of the religion which they professed. The good Puritans themselves had rubbed all the holy days out of the year, even Christmas Day, substituting a fast day which has since become Thanksgiving Day for the old Yuletide, in order to get as far away as possible from what they considered the almost if not quite sinful joyous celebration of Christmas. When the Irish came to work in their mills and to do the drudgery generally of the cities

and towns it was quite shocking to the good Puritans to have these Irish insist on taking off holy days of obligation and refuse to work on Christmas Day and on New Year's Day and even on Good Friday. These were looked upon as superstitious practices to be rooted out as soon as possible. When the Irish went further than this, however, and wanted to take St. Patrick's Day as well, and actually did stay away from work, not a few of them were discharged. When in spite of this they proceeded to organize processions after going to Mass and were planning other modes of celebration, no wonder that the Puritans were highly scandalized, and with the knowledge of St. Patrick which they had derived from "Peter Parley" and his ilk they could not have very much appreciation for the poor people or their so-called religion or their beliefs or practices or priests.

With regard to the Popes whom these poor ignorant Irish respected and honored, "Peter Parley" was particularly interesting. Information was disseminated with a free hand, and above all that information was made as piquant and interesting as possible, so that once it found its way into the youthful mind, if accepted, it would surely produce a lasting impression. The rising generation in America was informed very calmly that the Popes "took away kingdoms from the rightful sovereigns and gave them to others" and that "a Pope by the name of Clement declared that God had given him all the kingdoms of earth and heaven." And then to cap the climax, "If any person denied the Pope's authority he was burned alive."

Of course, Hildebrand comes in for a fling and the utter cruelty with which he treated poor Henry IV., that meekest of German emperors, who had sought pardon at his hands. When it comes to the latter part of the Middle Ages, however, we have some particularly interesting material. For instance, "In 1191 another Pope [the other refers to Pope Gregory VII., who has just been mentioned, Popes always with a small letter] kicked another emperor's crown off his head while he was kneeling before him, just to show that the Pope could make and unmake kings at his pleasure." Europe is pictured after this as entirely under the domination of the Popes, with a consequent eclipse of human intelligence, suppression of education and enslaving of human minds that could only be productive of the worst possible results for mankind.

"Peter Parley" says that it was about this time, that is shortly after 1191, that the power of the Pope was at its highest pitch. All the rest of the Middle Ages then until the coming of Luther and the Reformation can be summed up in a few brief words. He summarizes then: "For nearly four hundred years this potentate

continued to exercise an almost undisputed sway over the people and even the kings and princes of the Christian world." He adds in one all embracing paragraph: "During this age great darkness prevailed throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, and though Rome was the seat of the Popes, now more powerful than any sovereign, the people were generally in a state of ignorance and degradation." There is one saving grace in history, however, after these four hundred years: "In the year 1517 the Reformation was commenced by a man called Martin Luther."

This was the sort of twaddle that young folks were intellectually nourished with just before the middle of the nineteenth century. Of course, it is not surprising from the standpoint of that time if we only once put ourselves in touch with it. At the middle of the nineteenth century our intellectual interests here in America were of the lowest possible description. Our cities had no architecture; there were but two buildings in the country, the Capitol at Washington and the City Hall in New York, which fortunately we had allowed foreigners to plan for us, that had any pretensions to beauty of architecture. Our one idea in building was utility. This same thing was practically true of all the arts. We had had a few portrait painters, and by chance had produced Benjamin West, but he had promptly betaken himself to England to live under more sympathetic conditions. The history of painting in America at that time is almost a blank chapter. The same thing was quite literally true of sculpture. Indeed, even much later than this our sculpture was a joke. Look around, for example, and see the monuments that were erected in the principal squares of many of the chief cities of the country to honor the heroes of the Civil War and see for yourself the ginger-bready affairs that they were. Rogers' groups, God save the mark! actually showed an advance over these at least.

Our education was if possible at a lower ebb than our art. I know that this is likely to be a sore subject with Americans, but we must face realities in the matter. Take my own department of medicine. Here would be a fair and simple description of medical education as it was conducted, let us say between 1840 and 1850. A student registered with a physician, usually a rather busy one, and went round to see him occasionally, and sometimes read, but oftener did not read various medical books—except, of course, such as might have especial appeal, and at the end of a year would be admitted to a medical school. He did not have any preliminary education to speak of. He might have come from the plough or the mines or from before the mast, and many enterprising boys did come from such preliminary courses, but if he could read and write—and he did not have to write very plainly,

either—he would be admitted to a medical school. He then attended courses of lectures for two years; that is, it was called two years, but the terms were of four months each, which by a special saving grace must not be in the same calendar year as a rule. The lecture course was ungraded; that is, the student attended the same lectures two years in succession, being expected to get much more out of them the second year than the first.

One of our most prominent colleges in this country, one that was looked up to with a great deal of respect and whose students passed very good examinations for our army and navy medical service, required the higher standard of attendance for four months and a half. On the other hand, this institution permitted the two terms to come in the same calendar year, so that it was a favorite school for those who were in haste to get through. The diploma of graduation which gave the old-fashioned mediæval title of doctor of medicine, that is to say, of teacher of medicine (as if these two-year medical students of four-month terms could be expected to do any teaching), was at the same time a license to practice medicine in any State of the Union. There was no legal regulation of the practice of medicine for more than a generation after this.

Compare this for a moment with the mediæval medical schools. At the time when according to dear old "Peter Parley" Europe was "plunged in darkness," the Italian medical schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries required three years of preliminary education at the university, four years of medical school work, and even after that a year of practice with a physician before the graduate would be allowed to practice for himself. This is very nearly the standard to which we have raised our medical education at the present time, when we require a year or two of college work and then four years at medicine and are beginning to demand a year of hospital training. We are going back to the standards required by the Popes in the Papal bulls which they issued for the regulation of medical education when "great darkness prevailed throughout Europe."

In other modes of education the same thing was true, though it is not so easy to point out in concrete terms the actual differences between mediæval and modern American education. Suffice it to say that we had no universities and our college standards were almost a joke in European educational circles until well on toward the end of the nineteenth century. No European university thought of accepting our degrees on a parity with theirs, nor of considering that work done for a certain number of years with us could mean the same thing as a corresponding length of time spent in study

in Europe. Mediæval Papal bulls had established fine standards of education, making provision for interchange of students and professors in the mediæval times, and these traditions had been maintained in Europe to some degree at least, but here in English America we had never come under Papal influence and our education was left unstandardized. Our first serious graduate and research work was done at Johns Hopkins' in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century.

It is no wonder that the people of the mid-nineteenth century could not appreciate the Middle Ages, nor that they should misunderstand and condemn them. They had no criterion in their own lives that would enable them to judge at all properly of mediæval achievement. They could not appreciate the interests of that time. Their houses were boxlike structures built merely for utility, pushed as close to the street as possible, row after row of them made similar to each other. What could they possibly think of communities that deliberately devoted themselves to making beautiful buildings for their towns. Now that we have come to accept the idea of the city beautiful as an ideal, however distant it may be as yet, we have also come to recognize that in the Middle Ages the people often made great, noble sacrifices in order that their public buildings, cathedrals, town halls, guild houses and the like might be as beautiful as possible, ornaments to their town of which they were so proud. Until we had lifted up the standards of our own education we could not admire mediæval education. Until art had begun to germinate among us we could not recognize properly the supreme place that it held in the Middle Ages and ought to hold in life.

Young America was to learn, then, that until comparatively recent times, and surely until after the Reformation, all Europe was sunk in darkness and desolation and quasi-barbarism: "This period is called the Dark Ages (that is, the time between the classical period and modern times) because the nations are generally ignorant, fierce and barbarous. So things continued till about five hundred years ago, when the light of learning began to return. Since that time society has advanced in civilization till it has reached a higher state of improvement than was ever known before." The people of that time, and above all the young people, are told that their own age, with its execrable taste in architecture, its utter lack of taste in art, its sordid interest in a low standard of education, represented the highest state of improvement ever known among mankind, while the period which gave us Gothic architecture, Dante, the Idyls of the King, the great universities, the magnificent regulation of education, was called the Dark Ages.

No wonder that John Fiske in the introduction to his "The Beginnings of New England, or the Puritan Theocracy in Its Relations to Civil and Religious Liberty," which would perhaps be the last place in the world that one might expect to find such expressions, thought it necessary to set our countrymen right as far as possible on this important subject of the significance and worth of the Middle Ages. He said (xiv., T. C.):

"While wave after wave of Germanic colonization poured over Romanized Europe, breaking down old boundary lines and working sudden and astonishing changes on the map, setting up in every quarter baronies, dukedoms and kingdoms fermenting with vigorous political life; while for twenty generations this salutary but wild and dangerous work was going on, there was never a moment when the imperial sway of Rome was quite set aside and forgotten, there was never a time when union of some sort was not maintained through the dominion which the Church had established over the European mind. When we duly consider this great fact in its relations to what went before and what came after, it is hard to find words fit to express the debt of gratitude which modern civilization owes to the Roman Catholic Church. When we think of all the work, big with promise of the future, that went on in those centuries *which modern writers in their ignorance used once to set apart and stigmatize as the Dark Ages; when we consider how the seeds of what is noblest in modern life were then painfully sown upon the soil which Imperial Rome had prepared; when we think of the various works of a Gregory, a Benedict, a Boniface, an Alfred, a Charlemagne, we feel that there is a sense in which the most brilliant achievements of pagan antiquity are dwarfed in comparison with these.* (Italics ours.) Until quite lately, indeed, the student of history has had his attention too narrowly confined to the ages that have been preëminent for literature and art—the so-called classical ages—and thus his sense of historical perspective has been impaired."

It is, however, when he comes to talk about the monasteries and the convents that "Peter Parley" reveals all his utter lack of understanding of the Middle Ages. He confesses in his chapter on "The Dark Ages" that he has not had an opportunity to mention the abbeys and monasteries of Europe. "These curious institutions, however, deserve notice." He then suggests that they were an imitation of similar institutions "among the worshippers of Brama, Fo, Lama and Mahomet, as well as among the idolators of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome." He then proceeds to trace their history (page 221):

"The first monastery was founded by St. Anthony in Upper

Egypt A. D. 305. This consisted of a number of huts, in which several hermits dwelt, devoting themselves to penance and prayer. Another monastery was established in France, in the year 360, by St. Martin. From this time these institutions were multiplied and became established in all Catholic countries. From the eighth to the fifteenth century they received great encouragement and many splendid edifices were erected for their use.

"Some were called abbeys and some monasteries. Many of them were filled with monks and friars and others with females (!) called nuns. [This is a fine touch from a generation that had no provision for the education of women.] The splendid remains of many of these edifices are still to be found in England, France, Germany and other parts of Europe. At first the inhabitants of monasteries lived in a simple manner and devoted themselves to religious contemplations. But in after times the abbeys and monasteries became the seats of voluptuousness. None was permitted to enter them but the monks and nuns; these, therefore, while they pretended to be engaged in religious studies, screened from the eyes of the world, often gave themselves up to luxurious pleasures. [What nice innuendoes on this passage for the people of the period between Maria Monk's revelations and the burning of the convent at Charlestown, Mass., and the burnings of the church and convent in Philadelphia in the Know-Nothing period.]

"These institutions were, however, greatly encouraged by the Popes, and it was not until the monstrous corruptions of the Catholic religion brought on the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, that monastic institutions began to decline."

Fortunately, as it must seem to the author and his readers, he is able to point out their definite termination. He says: "They were abolished in England in 1539 and in France in 1790. In several other countries of Europe they have ceased, but still continue in Italy and Spain." This "Universal History" prepared the minds of the rising generation and emphasized impressions already existing among their elders as to the utter uselessness of monastic and religious institutions and their inevitable tendency to corruption and decay. When Know-Nothingism came with the burning of convents, how many of the people who took part in these anti-religious demonstrations had been influenced consciously or unconsciously by "Peter Parley's" depreciation of them and his light-hearted declaration that in the course of progress they still continued in Italy and Spain, but nowhere else, and of course had no place in enlightened and progressive America.

Almost needless to say, it was quite impossible that the people of a time and country who had no more knowledge of monks and nuns

than was thus obtained could have any sympathy for them or their beautiful work. It is only as we ourselves have developed various phases of the work that was done by the monastic establishments of the olden time that we have come properly to appreciate what magnificent institutions for good they were. The tradition that monks were idle and lazy, when not positively vicious, continued until the time when our first Agricultural schools were founded in this country.

The Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst came to fill a long felt want and has had many successors. One of its early presidents called attention to the fact that the old monasteries had really been agricultural schools, doing the work of experimenting with seeds, introducing new plants, improving stock, regulating forest conservation, providing irrigation and drainage; in a word, the functions for the benefit of agriculture which now are shared by the Government and our agricultural schools. It is only after we have come to have an interest in the things in which these older people were interested that we can properly judge of the significance of what they were doing. It was not so much ignorance of details of their work as lack of proper standards of appreciation that was the fault of the mid-nineteenth century, for the people themselves had very few of the interests of the higher life, and therefore could not be expected to have any sympathy for the generations that devoted themselves mainly to the things that they were neglecting.

Of course, the Inquisition comes in for its share of objurgation in "Peter Parley's" digest of history. It is described as a secret court whose business it was to arrest and bring to trial those who were suspected of not being true followers of the Popes or the Catholic religion. "It was for many years a favorite instrument by which the Pope of Rome carried on his schemes of tyranny." It was introduced into most countries of Europe where the Catholic religion prevailed, but in no country did it exercise its terrible power with such cruel despotism as in Spain. "It appears that this institution was sanctioned by Pope Innocent III. in the year 1215. It was not finally abolished till the year 1820." What a lurid picture of suffering and torture and manifold death inflicted by the Inquisition must have been impressed upon the minds of the children for whom in the twilight mother read these accounts of the course of universal history, producing upon them impressions which could not be eradicated by any subsequent information that might come.

Of course, we still hear much about the Inquisition, though usually in rather different tone than that employed by Mr. "Peter Parley," but here as everywhere else the supposedly damning evidence against the Church takes on an entirely other aspect when the actual

facts are known. Facts, only facts, that's all that's needed in order to correct history lies.

When "Peter Parley's" book was being bought so freely the Oxford Movement in England was just beginning to make itself felt to some extent at least in this country also, but it was really not until the conversion of Cardinal Newman that the English-speaking people generally woke up with a start to the fact that the Catholic Church could have an attraction and satisfaction for a thoroughly educated intellectual man. The feeling had been that ignorance was the one great safeguard of those within the Church and the only possible attraction that she could have for those without must be founded on an utter lack of anything like a right understanding of her doctrines and her history. Catholic clergymen had, of course, received an education, but this education had been so narrow as to make their ignorance of things apart from the Church all the denser. Any wandering beyond the bounds of their closely limited ecclesiastical education had been so sedulously guarded against that they knew very little about the realities of history, and above all almost nothing of the true relations of the Church to humanity. If the educated in the Church were thus kept from knowledge, of course the great mass of the faithful knew practically nothing about Church matters and were held entirely by the careful cultivation of ignorance on their part.

With Cardinal Newman's conversion, however, this very simple explanation of the Church's ability to hold her clergy and people by the bonds of ignorance could no longer be taken quite seriously. Any one who knew anything about him realized that Newman was the greatest intellectual leader of his generation at the most scholarly of English universities. He was besides a man of marvelous penetrative mental powers, with an acute logical faculty that had attracted the attention of all who were brought in contact with him. Above all, he was a man who knew the Catholic Church as no non-Catholic of his time was acquainted with her, and yet his very knowledge led him to abandon Protestantism, and at great cost to his feelings and the sacrifice of the friendship of most of those who had been dear to him to become a Catholic. It could not be ignorance that had led him astray; it must have been something else. What he knew best of all was the Church's history, and yet it was the study of history more than anything else that had disturbed his complacent Protestantism and had eventually brought him into the Church.

Early Church history had seemed to a great many to make it perfectly clear that primitive Christianity had degenerated into Catholicity with a whole host of abuses. Cardinal Newman after the most careful conscientious study declared that it was clear that

primitive Christianity had developed into mediaeval Catholicity and into the Catholic Church of his own day according to the great law of development which its Founder had impressed on it.

There was very little echo of all this in America, however, for nearly a generation. About the middle of the nineteenth century our people were still in "the Dark Ages" of religious misinformation, knowing nothing of the realities of the Catholic position, but all the more serenely confident by reason of their very ignorance that they knew all about it. It takes a good deal of ignorance to inspire confidence of knowledge whenever the subject in question is a large one. Our favorite "Universal History for Children," then, by "Peter Parley" was quite literally a caricature and a broad and amusing one, only that it was so absurd and amazing, replete with a number of "historical facts" that were not so, but the truth with regard to which might have been readily found, only a good deal of study would be needed for that purpose. Above all, after three centuries of English Protestantism one would have to read other than English books, as a rule, for for three hundred years English literature and history had been written entirely from the standpoint that nothing good could possibly come out of the Nazareth of the Catholic Church and with the avowed determination of finding absolutely nothing favorable to her in history. History for nearly four centuries had been quite literally, in Comte de Maistre's expression, a conspiracy against the truth.

The surprise is how long some of the old ideas have maintained themselves. I shall never forget Professor Dwight, late professor of anatomy at Harvard University, telling me some years ago that he belonged to a club in Boston in which one of the rules was that neither religion nor politics should be discussed. To his surprise, at a formal meeting one evening a number of things utterly defamatory of the Catholic Church were said in the course of a paper by a university man. At the end of the paper Professor Dwight arose to make a protest and to suggest that he did not want to violate the rule of the club, but that as a Catholic he felt that such expressions must not be allowed to go unanswered, and he asked permission to answer them formally either at this or preferably at a subsequent meeting. The reader of the paper was quite surprised at the thought that any one should think that he was violating the rule as to the discussion of a religious question at the club, since all that he was doing was discussing a purely historical subject on its merits, and indeed expressing thoughts on a matter of which so far as he knew no one had even ventured any doubt. He had never read anything that would throw the slightest doubt on them. His mind had been carefully insulated from all sources of information that might possibly

correct his false impression. He was exactly in the position that so many of these people think that Catholics are of ignoring everything that does not agree with their own point of view.

As a matter of fact, I am quite sure that Catholics know the other side very well as a rule. We have to know it because it is forced upon us in English history and literature to a certain degree. Besides, in order to be able to maintain our own position, we have to know both the opposite declarations and the responses to them. Protestants even in our time continue to be densely ignorant of Catholic Church matters. One would not mind their ignorance, since after all there is so much to know about the Church only that they are quite sure that they know all about it. Once in a public medical discussion, all the participants in which were university men, I had to suggest that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which had been touched on in the course of a medical discussion, was evidently quite misunderstood. They were talking about the Divine conception of the Saviour, but calling it the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. When I explained what Catholics meant by the Immaculate Conception, a dozen physicians, intelligent, educated men, seemed ready to think for some time that I must be mistaken, for of course they had *known* all their lives that what we meant by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was their idea of it. Then they asked me how many Catholics understood it as I did, and when I said that I thought all did, they looked very incredulous. I suggested that it was one of the things that we learned in our catechisms, and that probably any boy or girl whom they met on the street would explain it to them as I had done.

Twice since I have found their peculiar notion of the Immaculate Conception in rather serious books written by men who are looked up to as broadly intelligent and educated and who were quite sure that they knew what they were talking about. One of them was a medical writer of some distinction who was quite surprised to find that he had been so utterly mistaken in his assumption of knowledge with regard to what seemed to him apparently so simple a question as this. The other was H. G. Wells, the English novelist and writer on social topics, whose assumption of omniscience and infallibility was always amusing, but whom the present war has sobered not a little and whom a little more experience of life will doubtless help to a better understanding of many things.

Within the year I have had a man born and brought up in Boston, usually supposed to be the home of culture, and of course of intellectual truth, and whose young folks are supposed to absorb information of the right kind almost through the pores because of the atmosphere of the place, assure me that until by chance in connection with

some educational work he had come in contact rather closely with Catholic priests he had had no idea of the breadth of scholarship that was encouraged among the Catholic clergy by the Church authorities. He had found some of them very broad-minded men of extensive information touching subjects far beyond the confines of what he was inclined to think their Church interests and thoroughly familiar with religious and social conditions apart from their Church interests. He went so far as to confess that he found them exactly the sort of men that he thought it quite impossible for Catholic priests to be and maintain their adhesion to Catholicity and their firm belief in its doctrines and submission to its authority. I have had scientific men, particularly professors of universities, make the same sort of confession when they had been in contact at a scientific congress or meeting with Catholic priests who were interested in or perhaps teaching the same subjects as themselves.

People of this kind do not realize it, but they are still in the dark ages, though in the midst of what they think a very progressive period. John Fiske suggested that what were called "the dark ages" when we knew no better, now that we know so much about them should really be called the "bright ages," because they accomplished so much of what was best and highest in human achievement. They were supposed to be the "dark ages" because it was thought that men's eyes were held either by themselves or by external authority of some kind, and that therefore they could not see the truth. Would it not be fair for Catholics to say that it is in our time that men's eyes and minds are held with regard to Catholic subjects? They refuse to go to the proper authorities, refuse to study about Catholicity at the sources, read all sorts of secondary authorities, and then are quite sure that they know all about the Church. Indeed, they are convinced that they know much more than Catholics, because they are quite convinced that if Catholics knew all that they did, even with the best of good will they could not continue to be Catholics.

Above all, these people refuse to read Catholic books or Catholic articles because they are sure that they must be written from a very partial standpoint and cannot be sincere. There is only one way, as we have learned in our time, to find out about a subject, and that is to go to experts in it. We do not go to a lawyer to learn about consumption, nor to a physician to learn how to make a will. We go to those who have made special studies in these subjects. Above all, when we read books we get those that are written by authorities on the subject and whose life has been devoted to the subject. It is surprising how seldom in spite of this principle Protestants in our time turn to Catholic books to get information on Catholic sub-

jects. Almost any other printed account proves an acceptable source of information, but not a Catholic book.

Of course there is no question that it is extremely dangerous for Protestants to consult Catholic books. Indeed, there is no doubt at all about that, and it has often been exemplified. Nothing will so soon make Catholics out of Protestants as the reading of Catholic books. One of the conversions to the Church which attracted a great deal of attention not long before the war was that of Professor Von Ruville, the professor of history at the German University of Halle-Wittenberg. This institution is in its present form the continuation of Luther's own university of Wittenberg, now transferred to Halle. That the professor of history at Luther's own university should become a Catholic was indeed a striking fact, but the description of the way by which he became a Catholic was if possible even more startling. Professor Von Ruville frankly confessed that though he had been a teacher of history in the German universities for more than a score of years, and a full professor of modern history for some ten years, he had never read a Catholic book until a couple of years before his entrance into the Church.

He thought he knew all about the Church. He discussed all the historical problems relating to it, quite confident that he understood all the essential doctrinal and even theological questions relating to her. He had never read a Catholic book to obtain his information; that is, he had to confess that he had never gone to first-hand authorities, but had always gone to secondary writers on the subject; but, as is well known, it is those who obtain their information in this way who are surest about their knowledge. The very first Catholic book that he read, a simple volume that Catholics have been familiar with for many years, changed all his attitude of mind towards the Church and then he became a convert, writing the story of his conversion in a volume called "Back to Holy Church," that went through many editions in several languages.

Our good Protestant friends need to come out of the "dark ages" here in America and let themselves learn something about the only form of Christianity which has a history that goes back to Christ Himself. In the North and East Catholics are now not brought in contact with the flagrant calumnies and misrepresentations of the Church that were so common two generations ago when "Peter Parley's" "Universal History" was the introduction of children into knowledge of Papistry with all its awful abuses. These misrepresentations and calumnies continue, however, to be accepted in the South and in the West in many places, to be preached from pulpits and sometimes to be written and lectured on by men who presumably have education enough to know better. They are away

back in "the dark ages" where our Northern and Eastern fellow-citizens were at the middle of the nineteenth century.

The important lesson, however, is not one of congratulation that conditions in this regard are so much better than they used to be, but of profound deprecation that there should still be so much lack of real knowledge with large presumption of correct information that is really false as regards Catholic subjects. Our brethren around us here in the North, at least, need to come out of the "dark ages" and have that need emphasized by the contemplation of Southern and Western Americans still maintaining the old Protestant bigoted notions and absurd calumnies which were rife here two generations ago. A great improvement has come, but still greater improvement is needed for those who are sincere in their desire to know the truth. The South and the West continue to be bitterly anti-Catholic because they do not know Catholics, and above all have not been brought so close to Catholic priests and religious as to be made aware of what marvelous good work they are doing. Northern Protestants have passed through this phase, but now they need to pass through the other phase of learning about Catholicity from Catholic books and from educated Catholics. Where intolerance and opposition exist this would fade at once in the light of real knowledge.

There used to be the excuse that books that would provide knowledge with regard to Catholicity at first hand were not readily available. With all the publication of Catholic volumes in our time, above all, after the publication of the Catholic Encyclopedia, any such excuse no longer holds. We must invite Protestants to come out of the "dark ages" of information with regard to the Church to learn something from real authority. I once had a New York lawyer ask me where he could get complete information with regard to the Jesuits. He wanted me to refer him to a book. I refused to give him a list because I told him that that was not the way that one should learn about a living institution. The Jesuits were still in existence; there were one hundred or more of them in New York; why not get his knowledge at first hand by knowing them or at least by consulting those who knew them at first hand? Certainly no one should take information from avowed enemies. Yet it is from such sources that Protestants have been deriving their information with regard to the Catholic Church. May we not hope that the dark ages are over at last and that people will look for information where it can best be obtained from Catholic sources?

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## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND GREAT LIBRARIES.

“O F MAKING many books there is no end,” saith the preacher, giving us in these few words the testimony of an inspired witness as to the material at least for great libraries a thousand years before the Christian era, while modern archaeology is daily multiplying for us the evidences of their existence at a period even far earlier. It would be interesting to examine what part Catholic scholarship may have had in this work of bringing to light the buried treasures of a past civilization, the clay libraries of Assyria and Chaldea. But for our present purpose it must suffice to ascertain just what share such scholarship has played in the formation and support of the great libraries of Christian Europe. To assert that every great library in Europe, from the time of Constantine to the Reformation, owed its foundation, either directly or indirectly, to the activity of the Catholic Church may seem to some an overstatement, yet, if we can substantiate our claim, such a fact should certainly go far to silence hostile critics, who, like Huxley, seem never weary of denouncing the Church as “the vigorous enemy of the highest life of mankind.”<sup>1</sup> Happily, too, it might lead some timid souls within the fold to take heart and examine for themselves the abundant evidence at hand as to the Church’s literary zeal rather than lend a ready ear to accusations against her. But we would go a step farther and add that even of post-Reformation collections no really great library exists in Europe to-day which does not owe the nucleus of its treasured wealth to manuscript and printed volumes gathered from earlier Catholic libraries, monastic or collegiate, when these noble foundations were ruthlessly pillaged and their contents either summarily appropriated or scattered to the four winds of heaven. While in a brief article like the present it will, of course, be impossible fully to collate the evidence for this last assertion or even to present any really adequate synopsis of it, drawn as it is from sources involving minute and detailed research, yet it may, we hope, be possible to put forward certain salient facts so clearly as to show that the difficulty is simply one of presentation and to leave no room for the denial of a debt of the greatest magnitude, even where individual appropriation cannot be absolutely located. We will seek then to make good two statements—the first that of Leibnitz, who tells us, “Books and learning were preserved to us by the monasteries” (taking note also of the cathedral, university and other public libraries established by the zeal of the

<sup>1</sup> “Darwiniana,” p. 147. See also article “Science in Bondage,” Sir Bertram Windle, *Catholic World*, February, 1917.

Church). The second, that of Sir Frederic Madan (who as custodian for forty years of the manuscripts in the British Museum knew whereof he affirmed), that "at the dissolution of these monasteries their libraries were dispersed and the books thus scattered over England used to form the basis of her modern libraries" (extending the application of this remark to the literary collections of Continental Europe as well).

#### I. THE FORMATION OF LIBRARIES IN CATHOLIC EUROPE.

The beginnings of the Christian library seem to have been coëval with those of the Church's life. First in sequence of time, we find the cathedral or diocesan library established, the earliest example being probably the library attached to the church at Jerusalem by its Bishop, Alexander, who died A. D. 250. Its existence is attested by Eusebius of Cæsarea, who in his "Ecclesiastical History," written some eighty years later, describes it as a storehouse of valuable records which he himself had used in his work.<sup>2</sup> From this time on it became the rule to attach to every church such a collection of books as should be useful for the teaching of Christian doctrine, the very place of their instalment being designated, the left, namely, of the three semi-circular spaces into which the apse was usually divided.<sup>3</sup> A still more important collection than that at Jerusalem was one gathered at Cæsarea, in Palestine, by St. Pamphilus, a man who spent the greater part of his life in the transcription of manuscripts and of whom we are told that "No Florentine scholar of the Renaissance had a more passionate love of books than he."<sup>4</sup> This library was not only extensive, but noteworthy for the value of the books it contained. Here, according to Migne, reposed the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, as well as most of the works of Origen, collected by the loving care of Pamphilus, who had been his pupil.<sup>5</sup> As Pamphilus suffered martyrdom A. D. 309, this library could have been little later than that at Jerusalem. At Cirta, in Numidia, a library must have existed in 303 A. D.,<sup>6</sup> since it is recorded that during the persecution of that year, when the examining officers entered the church where the Christians were wont to assemble, they despoiled it of its sacred furniture, but, on approaching the Bibliothecam, they found the Amavia empty. The existence of these libraries finds frequent confirmation from accidental statements in the writings of that time. Thus Julian the

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.", VI., 20.

<sup>3</sup> Clark, "Care of Books," pp. 62, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Drane, "Christian Schools and Scholars," p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Migne, V., 23, p. 613.

<sup>6</sup> Optatus, "De Schismate Donatistorum," Paris, 1702; App., p. 167, quoted by Clark, p. 63.

Apostate commands that the books collected by George, Bishop of Alexandria, shall be sent him. St. Jerome advises a student to consult church libraries and mentions his debt to that of Pamphilus, stated to have numbered 30,000 volumes.<sup>7</sup> Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, describes a library he built in honor of St. Felix (353-431 A. D.), bearing the following inscription:

“Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,  
Hic poterit residens, sacris intendere libris.”<sup>8</sup>

Again, we find St. Augustine bequeathing his library to the church at Hippo, while St. Jerome tells how he had amassed his, “cum summo studio et labore.” Contemporaneously with the public recognition of Christianity by Constantine, two noted libraries had sprung into existence—one founded by the Emperor himself, who made diligent search for such Christian books as had escaped the fury of Diocletian; the second, as we shall see, being Papal. When Constantine made Byzantium his capital, the library he had founded was transferred thither. Although said at his death to number only 6,900 volumes, it was increased by successive additions till, in the time of Theodosius the Younger, it included 120,000, housed in the Basilica of the Octagon, its faculty of seven librarians and twelve professors being maintained at public expense. This noble foundation was wantonly destroyed by fire, at the order of Leo, the Isaurian, who thus sought, says Edwards in his “Great Libraries and Their Founders,” to banish all monuments which might impede his opposition to the worship of images.<sup>9</sup> Leo burnt pitilessly books, basilica and librarians in one awful holocaust! In this library was deposited the only authentic copy of the proceedings of the Council of Nice. It is also said to have contained a copy of Homer, written in golden letters, together with a magnificent manuscript of the Four Gospels, bound in plates of gold enriched with precious stones. The second foundation to which we have alluded seems to have arisen at Rome in connection with the school of theology established there under Pope Callistus (218-233). After the conversion of Constantine, the Lateran became the dwelling of the Popes under the title of the Patriarchium. Hither the school was removed. It possessed, we are told, a noble library, the names of its librarians being preserved in unbroken succession from the fifth century. Better known, however, is the “Archivium,” or “Library of Christian Records,” erected by Pope Damasus (366-384) in the Basilica of San Lorenzo,

<sup>7</sup> It is only fair to say that the roll or “volume” of the ancients had often a smaller content than the modern book.

<sup>8</sup> De Rossi, quoted by Clark, pp. 63-64.

<sup>9</sup> Edwards, p. 20.

which he built in the Campus Martius, near the Theatre of Pompey. The façade of this basilica bore the inscription:

“Archivis fateor volui novere condere tecta :  
Addere, praeterea, dextra levague, columnas,  
Quae, Damasi, teneant proprium, per secula, nomen.”<sup>10</sup>

“The name of Damasus has been retained,” adds Hare, in his “Walks in Rome,” “for the place is still ‘San Lorenzo in Damaso.’” It is this building which was styled by St. Jerome “Chartarium Ecclesiae Romanae,” and it unquestionably held the records of the Roman Church until they were removed to the Lateran, in the seventh century.<sup>11</sup> A third beginning of a Papal library was made by Pope Agapetus, about 535 A. D. He selected a house on the Cœlian, afterwards the home of St. Gregory, to be converted into a college for catechists, attaching to it a library to whose existence an inscription in the Church of St. Gregory bore witness as late as the ninth century.<sup>12</sup> It may be rendered:

“Here sits in long array a reverend troop,  
Teaching the mystic truths of law divine.  
'Mid these, by right, takes Agapetus place,  
Who built to guard his books this noble shrine.”

The work of Agapetus was interrupted by his death, but was taken up by his friend, Cassiodorus, who, originally a courtier at the palace of Theodoric, retired finally to his estate at Vivarium, in the southern extremity of Calabria, there to found a monastery in which the transcription of books was the chief occupation of the brethren. Cassiodorus not only collected a famous library, but established an academic retreat where pilgrims, weary of the scenes of violence which “were turning Italy into a howling wilderness,” could assemble under porticoes and in gardens adorned with every beauty that could charm the eye, there to enjoy the calm of retirement with the solace of prayer.<sup>13</sup> We have now been introduced to examples of four varieties of library founded or fostered by the Church—episcopal, Papal, royal and monastic—which vied with each other in importance during the ages of faith. The monastic library of Cassiodorus was not, however, the first of its kind. From the earliest times the solitaries of Nitria and the East had felt the need of books. The allusions to “collections of books” are too numerous to be questioned. The rule of St. Pachomius (292-345 A. D.), at Tabenna, in Upper

<sup>10</sup> Ne Hist. . . . “Sedis Apostolicæ.”

<sup>11</sup> “Jerome adv. Rufinum,” II., 20.

<sup>12</sup> “De Rossi,” chap. vii., p. 25; “De Orig.”

<sup>13</sup> Drane, p. 31.

Egypt, gives minute directions for the housing and distribution of books.<sup>14</sup> Chrysostom and other fathers frequently advert to the teaching of children by these desert solitaries, a fact implying the presence of books amongst them. "In the depths of the Thebaide, in the primitive monasteries of Tabenna," writes Montalembert,<sup>15</sup> "every house had its library; dating from these patriarchs of the monastic orders, through all the ages of their history, to name an important monastery was to name a sort of oasis of learning; hence comes the saying, 'A cloister without a library is like a fortress without an arsenal.' (Martène: 'Thesaurus Anee,' Vol. I., chap. v., 11.)" The schools and libraries of the Celtic monks had their beginnings as early as St. Ninnian (380 A. D.). This pioneer from the Isle of Saints came to Rome in the time of Pope Damasus and returned laden with a supply of books. The "Deacon Palladius" is also said to have left books in Ireland, but more indubitably St. Patrick brought thither a "goodly store," received from Pope Sixtus. Contemporaneously with the forerunners of St. Patrick in Ireland, monasticism found its way from the East into Southern Gaul. The famous abbey of Marmoutier was founded by St. Martin of Tours about the middle of the fourth century. Here in cells and caves the younger monks occupied their time in writing and study, the elder in prayer.<sup>16</sup> Even more celebrated in the history of letters was the rocky isle of Lerins, off the southern coast of France. Here about the year 410 A. D. St. Honoratus founded his famous school, whose reputation for learning became such that cities far and near eagerly sought the monks of Lerins for their Bishops and the purity of whose Latin even Erasmus praised. Two other centres of learning flourished about this time in Gaul—Auxerre, founded by St. Germanus, and Vienne by St. Avitus. St. Patrick is said to have studied at Marmoutier, Auxerre and Lerins.<sup>17</sup> Books, as we have seen, had preceded him to Ireland, where soon the famous retreats of Clonard and Iona became the glory of the land and the nurseries of its missionary zeal. With the labors of Saints Columba and Columbanus the pages of Montalembert have familiarized us. To those labors the Continent of Europe owes some of the most famous monastic libraries. These monasteries, however, soon passed from Celtic to Benedictine obedience and became identified with that order in their later history.

We may note in this connection two venerable monastic libraries, still existing in Italy, which became similarly identified. That at

<sup>14</sup> Lausiae, "Hist. of Palladius," Dom Cuthbert Butler, Cambridge, 1898; p. 234.

<sup>15</sup> "Monks of the West."

<sup>16</sup> Savage, "Old English Libraries," p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Healy, "Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars," p. 50.

Vercelli, near Ravenna, founded by St. Eusebius in the fourth century, and one at La Cava, Southern Italy, of a somewhat legendary antiquity. The treasures preserved in both are of great rarity and value. Besides the *Evangeliarum* of St. Eusebius, Vercelli boasts a famous volume of Anglo-Saxon homilies known as the "Codex Ver-  
cellensis."<sup>18</sup> It is, however, with the labors of St. Benedict and his followers that the literary work of the Middle Ages is preëminently associated. St. Benedict it was who, by the admonitions of his rule, was destined to create that great system of monastic libraries which, with the analogous cathedral collections, formed the treasure houses of literature for a thousand years. "Behold," writes Clarke, when commenting on chapter 48 of St. Benedict's rule, in which the latter gives directions as to the time and duty of reading, "how great a fire a little matter kindleth!" These simple words, spoken by one who in power of far-reaching influence has had no equal, gave an impulse to study in ages which it was once the fashion to call "dark," which grew with the growth of the order, till wherever a Benedictine house arose, or a monastery of any one of the orders which were but off-shoots from the Benedictine tree, books were multiplied, till the wealthier houses had gathered together a collection that would do credit to a modern university.<sup>19</sup> "It is, indeed, almost impossible to overestimate the influence exerted by these collections, which were not only the *reference*, but the *lending* libraries of the times. St. Benedict himself was born in Neustria in 480 A. D. Subiaco, the cradle of his order, was founded in 520, Monte Casino in 529 A. D. By the close of the fifth century his foundations filled all Europe. From 520 to 720 A. D. was an era of "unparalleled abbey building."<sup>20</sup> Within these dates arose most of the great houses afterwards renowned for their libraries: Fleury, Corbie, Aurillac, St. Riquier, Ferrière, St. Maur, Reichenau, Corvey and Sponheim, on the Continent; Canterbury, Jarrow, York, Lindesfarne, Wearmouth, Malmesbury, Whitby, Ripon, Glastonbury, Peterborough and Croyland, in England. Bobbio, St. Gall, Fulda, Luxeuil and the monastery of St. Donatus, at Fiesole, were Celtic foundations of the seventh and eighth centuries, and they in turn were followed by the great Cluniac, Cistercian and Carthusian abbeys, the mere mention of whose names summons up glorious memories of the past. "The monks loved their books," writes Montalembert, "with a passion that has never been surpassed in modern times." "Our books," exclaims St. Hugh of Lincoln, "are our wealth in time of peace, our offensive and defensive weapons in time of war, our food

<sup>18</sup> Savage, p. 87, and "British Encyclopedia," ninth edition, p. 531.

<sup>19</sup> Clark, lecture, "Mediæval Library," p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Catholic Encyclopedia, art. "Abbey."

when hungry, our medicine when sick."<sup>21</sup> And his words are re-echoed by the old Saxon chronicler who wrote: "Here are the riches of the cloister, the treasures of the celestial life, which fatten the soul by their sweetness." St. Thomas à Kempis dwells pathetically on the sad estate of a monk deprived of books. To obtain them, long and perilous journeys were undertaken. In the seventh century, Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, fared six separate times to Rome, returning laden with an "Innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam,"<sup>22</sup> to supply that library wherein Bede read and copied. Theodore of Canterbury made similar journeys. Soon the library at Jarrow became the model for the yet more famous one at York, of which Alcuin was librarian and whose praises he sang in the ear of Charlemagne, when, seeking to form a similar library for the monastery at Tours, he besought his royal master for permission to transplant into France some flowers (i. e., books) of Britain, that the "Garden of Paradise" might not be confined to York.<sup>23</sup> A little later we find Luperus of Ferrières converting his monastery into a repository for the exchange of books between England and France, while the Irish monks filled theirs with exquisite manuscripts in Celtic calligraphy. About this time most of the books which now form the pride of the Ambrosian library at Milan were being collected in the Abbey of Bobbio, while Subiaco, destroyed and redestroyed by Lombard and Saracen, was patiently replenishing its valuable library, part of which it retains to this day. Here in 1462 the first printing press on Italian soil was opened under Schwyneheim and Pannartz. The monastery of Pomposa, near Ravenna, boasted itself at one time as possessing a finer library than the Vatican (!) At Novalese, in Piedmont, the monks saved one of 6,700 volumes at the risk of life itself when their abbey was attacked by the Saracens, and this in the "Iron Age," when writers like Robertson would have us believe that monks could neither read nor write. Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, assures us that Hirschau contained an immense number of manuscripts. "Ingens copia," he says, when alluding to its destruction in 1002 A. D. The great library of Cluny at the time of the visit of St. Peter Damian was said to have been unrivaled in Europe. The saint laments the wealth of the abbey. Its revenues, however, were used to feed 17,000 poor people and to collect Latin, Greek and even Hebrew authors.<sup>24</sup>

No doubt there were local rivalries of claim, since the Benedictine Ziegelbauer places the library of Fulda above all the monasteries of

<sup>21</sup> Mabillon, "Reflexions sur la Reponse de M. de Rancé," Vol. II., p. 139.

<sup>22</sup> Savage, p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Savage, p. 36; also West, "Alcuin," p. 34.

<sup>24</sup> Drane, "Christian Schools," p. 337.

Germany and perhaps of the Christian world.<sup>25</sup> Naturally, however, we look to Monte Casino, that fountain-head of Benedictine life, to take precedence in literary fame. Although specially open to depreciation from both north and south and, in point of fact, repeatedly rifled, several authors assure us that under Didier, the friend of Gregory VII., it possessed the richest collection of all, and we know that when the African, Constantine, who had spent forty years in India, Egypt and the East, came to seek repose at the tomb of St. Benedict, he endowed his adopted home with the literary treasures collected in his wanderings. When considering the question of the disappearance of so many of these noble collections we must remember that almost all the great abbeys had been repeatedly sacked, even before the iconoclastic hand of the so-called "reformer" was laid upon them. As the Saracen ravaged Southern Europe, so Dane and Viking were the terror of the North. By the time Christendom had recovered itself from the efforts of such a double invasion the era of the friars had begun. Although founded on principles of the strictest poverty, these new religious soon became fully the rivals of the "old orders" in their eagerness to acquire books. So far did their acquisitions extend that complaints were even lodged against them to the Pope as interfering with the needs of others. In every convent (of friars), exclaims Archbishop Fitzralph in anger, "is a grand and noble library, and every friar of note at Oxford has a fine collection of books."<sup>26</sup> What one Bishop denounces another commends. Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham and Chancellor of Edward III., the most famous bibliophile of the Middle Ages, writes: "Whenever we happened to turn aside to the cities and places where the mendicants had their convents we did not disdain to visit their libraries. There we found heaped up amidst the utmost poverty the utmost treasures of wisdom. These men are as ants; they have added more in this eleventh hour to the stock of sacred books than all the other vine dressers."<sup>27</sup> It has sometimes been urged that, whatever may have been collected in the way of libraries by "monkish diligence," yet modern society owes them little, since the volumes so gathered were chiefly missals, breviaries, legends of the saints and other specimens of hagiology, with which it could readily have dispensed; that indeed by their erasure of classic manuscripts to furnish palimpsests for their own chronicles they may have caused us "irreparable loss." This charge, like many another, is quite unjust.

Not to enter into a discussion of the comparative merits of the Christian texts by which certain pagan authors were displaced, we

<sup>25</sup> "Observations Littéraires," Vol. I., p. 484. (He gives catalogue.)

<sup>26</sup> Madan, "Books in Manuscript," pp. 76-79.

<sup>27</sup> Richard de Bury, "Philobiblon," ch. viii.

have abundant proof from the monastic catalogues themselves that standard classics were well represented. "A glance at Becker's sheaf of catalogues," writes Savage,<sup>28</sup> "will show us that Aristotle, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Persius, Plato, Pliny the Elder, Porphyry, Sallust, Tatius, Terence, Cicero, Ovid, Seneca and Virgil are well represented." Mr. Gladstone laments that from the fall of Rome onward for one thousand years "not a single copy of Homer was to be found in the whole of Christian Europe."<sup>29</sup> His grief was uncalled for. Had he scanned monastic catalogues more closely, he would have found more than one early Homer indexed.<sup>30</sup> (The British Museum contains at least one such.) That he failed to do this is not so surprising, but we feel he might have recalled the oft-noted fact that the book which the dying Petrarch "held wistfully in his hands" was the "Iliad" of Homer. Returning to the friars, we find ourselves in an era when generous donations of books were in vogue. Richard Whittington built a library for the Franciscans of London at a cost reckoned as equal to £3,000 of present money. The Franciscans of Oxford were the legatees of Bishop Grosstête. Roger Dean, of Exeter, presented a library to the Grey Friars of his city in 1226, while the will of William de Wych, Bishop of Chichester, is notable for similar bequests to several orders. De Bury presented many books to the Benedictines of Durham. The good Duke Humphrey, of Gloucester, was the munificent benefactor of Oxford. Bishop Cobham had anticipated him here, while Henry VI. followed with his gifts to All Souls College.

We must now turn from monastic to the great public libraries formed under Catholic patronage. Of the cathedral libraries which, both in England and on the Continent, had been steadily growing since the days of Alfred and Charlemagne, we have had no time to speak, but may be able to note them later in connection with their dispersal. It is to the century immediately preceding the invention of printing that we must assign the effective beginnings both of university and communal libraries in Europe, as well as those which later became national, but which arose chiefly as royal libraries. We will glance first at the great libraries of Italy, on which a volume could be written. The Biblioteca Vaticana, to quote the British Encyclopedia, "stands in the very first rank among European libraries as regards antiquity, since from the middle of the fifth century we have evidence of the existence of a Pontifical library at Rome." Pope Zachary, a Greek (725 A. D.), added largely to the

<sup>28</sup> Savage, "Old English Libraries," p. 124. Savage gives list of classic authors in English monasteries.

<sup>29</sup> Gladstone, "Books and Their Housing."

<sup>30</sup> Edwards gives a list of extant English catalogues; "Great Libraries," App. A. The catalogues by Mr. Montague James are most exhaustive.

Greek treasures of this library, then housed at the Lateran. After the return of the Popes from Avignon, the collection was permanently fixed at the Vatican. In 1447 Pope Nicholas V., often called its founder, is said to have added 5,000 manuscripts to the original store. Callistus III. enriched it with many volumes from the hands of the Turks. But for the treasures thus collected no adequate housing was provided till the time of Sixtus IV., who built what is known as the "old" Vatican Library, on the ground floor of the "Torre Borgia."<sup>31</sup> That Sixtus intended this library for the widest possible use is proved from the document appointing the librarian, in which it is distinctly stated that this library was gotten together for the "use of all men of letters, both of our own age and of subsequent times."

The sack of Rome in 1527 by the Lutheran soldiers of the Constable de Bourbon inflicted an awful blow on the Vatican Library, amounting to nothing less than a wholesale destruction of the rarest specimens of early Italian printing. In 1587, however, Sixtus V. built the magnificent hall known as the new Vatican Library, visited by countless sightseers. About the time that Sixtus IV. was building the "old" Vatican Library another noble collection was being made at Urbino, then styled the Athens of Italy, by its Duke, Frederigo da Montefeltro, the friend of Sixtus and of Raphael, a patron of art and literature; the volumes collected by him were chiefly Greek and Latin classics. On the marriage of Frederigo's daughter to the Pope's nephew, Giovanni della Rovere, the della Rovere dukes continued the literary work begun by Frederigo until the last one, dying childless, bequeathed his estates to the Church, these remaining Papal territory until 1870.

The glories of Urbino are past! Much of its famous library was added to the Vatican by purchase, but many of its treasures have been scattered far and wide. A half-century earlier than this Niccolò Niccoli, a private citizen of Florence, has been adjudged the honor of founding the first library wholly free to all by bequeathing his books to his fellow-citizens<sup>32</sup> (1363-1436). Cosimo the Elder, of the Medici family, one of Niccolò's curators, by paying his debts and thus saving the books from sale, acquired the right of having them placed where he would. He selected the famous Convent of San Marco for their resting place and for their custodian Tomaso da Sarzana, the future Pope Nicholas V. Cosimo added many manuscripts of his own, and journeys to the Orient were undertaken in

<sup>31</sup> Clark, "Care of Books," p. 208 sq. British Encyclopedia, ninth edition, art. "Libraries."

<sup>32</sup> Edwards, however, reserves this honor for Cardinal Mazarin; "Great Libraries," p. 37. Clark adds, p. 240, that *all* mediæval libraries were practically public.

search of others. Thus was formed the nucleus of the great library known later as the "Laurentinian."<sup>33</sup> At the sack of the Medici palace (1494) this library was dispersed. Many books saved by Savonarola were purchased at his death by Leo X. and taken to Rome. Later, however, Clement VII., himself a Medici, restored to Florence all the books belonging to his ancestors, commissioning Michael Angelo to build a hall for their reception. Among the most precious of its 9,000 manuscripts the "Evangelista Siriaca," of the sixth century, takes first rank, followed by the "Biblia Amiatina," written by Ceolfridus, an English monk of Wearmouth, and brought by him as an offering to the Tomb of St. Peter. Here, too, is the earliest known copy of the Justinian Pandects with other treasures too numerous for mention. Although many of the later Medici contributed to this library with little religious motive, yet the example had been set them by the Church. Their gifts rest side by side with those from illustrious Cardinals and prelates, and many also taken from monasteries, even before the French invasion. Indeed, the religious spirit of the age is prominent, even when men like Boccaccio and Malatesta bequeath their books on their death to religious orders. At Venice, in 1362, we find Petrarch making St. Mark the heir of his, in these words: "Sicosi piacerà a Cristo ed a lui," thus laying the foundation-stone of the "Biblioteca Marciana," although its real founder was Cardinal Bessarion, with Cardinals Grimani and Contarini as its munificent benefactors.

Passing now in rapid review the Roman libraries established between this time and the close of the Renaissance period, we find the library of the Collegio Romano, collected by St. Francis Borgia about 1550; the Barberini (containing letters by Galileo, Bembo, Bellarmine), by Cardinal Barberini, about a century later; the Biblioteca Vallicelliana was founded by St. Philip Neri; that of the Sapienza by Alexander VII., as was also the Chigi, or Alessandrine Library. The Corsini, rich in incunabula, owes its origin to Clement XII.; the library of the Propaganda to Urban VIII., in 1626. The Biblioteca Angelica was formed by Cardinal Angelo Rocca, in 1605, and numbered nearly 100,000 books and manuscripts, while, last among Roman libraries, the Casanatense, founded by Cardinal Casanata, in 1700, formed the great Dominican treasure house of books until its secularization by the Italian Government. Turning to other Italian cities, we have the celebrated Biblioteca Ambrosiana, founded by Cardinal Borromeo in 1609, in honor of Milan's great saint and doctor, a noble memorial on whose contents we long to dwell! Forever memorable in connection with this library will be the name of Cardinal Mai, who first taught the learned world how to restore the

<sup>33</sup> Bertini, "Storiadi Firenze," p. 493.

original writing of classics palimpsists. The library of the Brera, at Milan, though usually attributed to Maria Theresa, was really of earlier origin and probably owed its beginnings to the Uniliati and later to the Jesuits, who in 1572 were put in possession of the Brera, originally the home of the former order. The libraries of Naples are rich and numerous. The Farnese collection, made by Paul III. in 1570, was one of the noblest, containing upwards of 400,000 of the best specimens of early Neapolitan printing, now appropriated by the Italian Government. In 1675 Cardinal Brancaccio established the "Libreria Brancacciana" in connection with the Church of St. Angelo. That of the "Gerolini" was originally the possession of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri. Of the other Neapolitan libraries it is difficult to speak at present, their contents having been largely secularized to set forth modern foundations, while of lesser ones, hidden in many a quaint Italian town, we cannot even make mention, although their combined wealth has made Italy for centuries the happy hunting ground for book lovers of all sorts. In this list of Italian libraries we have made no reference to those of universities. We would claim, however, the libraries of the great European universities as distinctly the fruit of Catholic influence, since the university was essentially the outcome of the earlier cathedral and monastic schools, adopted to broaden conditions.<sup>34</sup> They were founded, moreover, by Papal charter and continued during the ages of faith to be the active exponents of Catholic life and thought. Many of the earliest and most important took their rise on Italian soil and under direct Papal influence, as those of Salerno (ninth century), Bologna, Pavia and Pisa. Libraries here were early formed.

Of the twenty-one universities of Germany, *all* have libraries, mostly coëval with their foundation.<sup>35</sup> Could we enter into their history we would find Catholic kings to have been their nursing fathers and queens their nursing mothers. Of English Oxford, we know Bishops Cobham, De Bury and Arundel with good Duke Humphrey and Kings Henry V. and VI. to have been the chief founders, but a multitude of Bishops might be named among lesser donors.<sup>36</sup> Among great mediæval libraries we must not forget to note the Biblioteca Corviniana, founded by Matthias Corvinus, son of the heroic John Hunyadi and last but one of the dauntless defenders of Christendom against the Turk, whose 50,000 volumes won for it a place among the then wonders of the world. Founded between 1450-90, it was largely despoiled soon after, and in 1527

<sup>34</sup> Denifle, "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters."

<sup>35</sup> British Encyclopedia, ninth edition, art. "Universities."

<sup>36</sup> Savage, pp. 139-154.

seized by the Turks. Early in the fifteenth century, we note also the rise of *town* libraries in Germany and Central Europe. Here, too, we find evidences of a devout Catholic spirit in the various gifts. As early as 1413 Andrew Von Slomnow, a devout private citizen, founded a library in the old Polish town of Danzig in connection with the Church of St. Mary. His example was followed at Ratisbon by Konrad Von Hildesheim in 1430, at Ulm by Heinrich Neidhart in 1440, at Nürnberg by Konrad Kühnhofer in 1445. We have testimony also of similar donations in France.

It remains for us still to trace the rise of several royal and private libraries built up for the "glory of God and the honor of Holy Church" in times when such words still expressed real and vitalizing forces in social Christendom. First among these in time and importance was the library of the French kings, which owed its origin to a request from Pepin le Bref to Pope Paul I. to be "furnished with a few books." So humbly began the library, long and perhaps still the largest in the world. To it Charlemagne made royal additions and committed its future care to his son, Louis. We may trace the existence of this infant library, with varying vicissitudes, through the reigns of Charles the Bald and St. Louis, who both sought to raise it to an estate worthy of the "most Christian King," down to the time of John, captive of the Black Prince, whose own literary zeal seems to have been kindled by that of his prisoner. In the reign of his son Charles V., the collection took more permanent shape and was removed by him to the Louvre. Under Charles VIII. and Louis XII., treasures from Italy poured in, especially those from the libraries of Sforza, Visconti, Petrarch and Greythuse. A little later, nearly 2,000 volumes and manuscripts from the East were added through the efforts of Lascaris, the Greek exile, who had been invited by Leo X. to take charge of the Greek College at Rome. Under Henry IV., it secured the valuable library of Catharine de Medici. Its later growth was rapid. Under Louis XIV., a golden era opened for it. Finally, in 1724 it was lodged in the Palais Mazarin, which it still occupies. Meanwhile the Mazarine Library had been founded in 1643 by the Cardinal himself and bequeathed by him to the "Collège des Quatre Nations." Shortly after that of Ste. Geneviève had been founded by Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld.<sup>37</sup> As all these libraries fell under State control at the time of the French Revolution, their subsequent history can best be told later.

In Austria, we find the Royal Library of Vienna, founded in 1440,

<sup>37</sup> The inscription placed over the door of the Mazarine Library (Clark, p. 272): "Publicē patere voluit, censu perpetuo dotavit, posteritati commendavit."

by Frederic, father of Maximilian, while that of the university was greatly enlarged and enriched by Maria Theresa. The Royal Library of Munich, which claims to be the largest in Germany, was founded by Duke Albrecht V. in 1550; that of Ingostadt, now incorporated with it, in 1472. The history of these and other South German libraries is most interesting, being almost exclusively the product of Catholic life and zeal, while those of Northern Germany were built upon the ruin or suppression of the same. Turning to Catholic Spain, we find the Escorial, begun by Phillip II. in 1565, and placed by him under the care of the monks of St. Jerome. While owing to its disturbed condition during centuries of Moorish domination, Spain never attained the literary prominence of other Catholic countries, it was far from being without important libraries. That of St. Isidore of Seville (600-630 A. D.) is described by De Rossi,<sup>38</sup> while the University libraries of Salamanca, Santiago, Seville, Valencia and Valladolid, numbering from 30,000 to 70,000 volumes, despite the havoc played with them during the Napoleonic wars, the cathedral library of Toledo, the Jesuit foundations of S. Isidro and of Seville, and finally, the Biblioteca Nacional, once the Royal Library, at Madrid (quite distinct from the Escorial), with its 400,000 printed books and 10,000 manuscripts, still remain to testify to Spanish love of letters, generally underestimated. Perhaps few of us associate poor, desolated Poland with preëminent zeal in library building, yet the largest library of its day in Europe was the private one formed by the two Polish brothers, Counts Andrew and Joseph Zaluski, Bishops, respectively, of Cracow and Kief, numbering 262,000 volumes, but which had hardly been collected and housed ere it was seized and carried off to enrich the library of St. Petersburg!

One more royal library remains for mention, that of the kings of England, before we reach the era of the "Great Pillage." This library had always been rather a backward affair. "It is unquestionable," says Edwards,<sup>39</sup> "that the kings of England cannot be praised for any distinctive love of literature, or any conspicuous zeal in its encouragement." Certain kings had given generously to Oxford and Cambridge, but, with the exception of state papers and charters and some attempts at book collecting by the Black Prince, England could boast of little in the way of a royal library till the time of the seventh Henry. The Duke of Bedford, it is true, Protector during the minority of Henry VI., had collected a large library in France, mostly pillaged from the Louvre, while Cardinal Beaufort, another uncle of the king, had gathered a similar collec-

<sup>38</sup> Quoted by Clark, pp. 43-45.

<sup>39</sup> "Great Libraries and Their Founders," p. 144, p. 157.

tion. The Cardinal's library was bequeathed to Oxford, but much of the Protector's came finally to the King. With Henry VII., however, love of literature was checked by avarice. The former sometimes conquered, and he collected at Greenwich a library containing the princely number of 341 volumes and 329 manuscripts. Also one at Windsor, catalogued as containing 109 volumes, these last "magnificently bound in crimson velvet." To this inheritance Henry VIII. fell heir. This monarch, too, was a lover of books, yet spent little on them, as his accounts show. Nevertheless, before the close of his reign, his royal library had vastly increased in size. "Library and Jewel House," adds Edwards, "tell the same tale." They show conclusively that:

"'He was to wit a stout and sturdy thief,  
Wont to rob church's of their ornaments.'

"Some of his finest jewels were plundered from monastic houses. Some of his finest books were the spoils of monastic libraries. Among the royal manuscripts now before me are some which were once shown with pride by the cowled librarians of Lincoln, Bury, St. Edmunds, Ramsay, Worcester, Jerveaux and Sempringham." In short, we have reached the era of the "Great Spoliation," which must be told under its own heading.

#### THE LIBRARIES OF MODERN EUROPE.

We have now reached the era of the "Great Spoliation," or, as it has been more euphemistically termed, the "Secularization" of Pre-Reformation libraries, and to make good our claims as to the Catholic substratum of the greatest collection of modern Europe we must make a rapid review of their number and briefly investigate their sources. Until well within the beginning of the present century the National Library of Paris, with its 2,600,000 bound volumes, and almost innumerable pamphlets, manuscripts and documents, led the way as uncontestedly the largest collection of books in the world; the Library of the British Museum, which till then ranked second in Europe, now claims to have equaled and even outdistanced its rival. When volumes mount up into the millions their enumeration becomes no light matter. Much, too, depends upon the manner in which the "count" is made, as we will realize when we remember that one-quarter million bound newspapers form part of the yearly increase at the British Museum. Leaving the matter of precedence, then to experts, we merely place these two libraries side by side as the largest in modern Europe. Third in numerical importance comes the Library of St. Petersburg, now Petrograd, founded by Peter the Great in 1714. The Royal Libraries of Munich

and of Berlin are contestants for the fourth rank. While none of the Italian libraries is the numerical equal, in printed works, of these great leaders, yet in the number and value of their ancient manuscripts and otherwise unique contents they far surpass them, even if the valuation be taken merely on a monetary basis.

Following in the wake of the two great German collections we may mention the Imperial and University Libraries of Vienna, whose united wealth may be placed at about one million volumes. Below this limit the number of libraries multiplies rapidly. The Bodleian, England; the Biblioteca Nacional, with the Escorial, at Madrid; the departmental libraries of France, many noble ones in old German universities rise up before us, with numerous others, of which we can only mention the most general outlines, yet such as supply, nevertheless, no uncertain index as to their connection with earlier foundations. As we have traced the formation of libraries in Catholic Europe through centuries of patient care, so we have now to consider the sad process of their dispersal through religious bigotry and personal greed before we can enter upon the reconstructive period in which the libraries of modern Europe took their rise, and in which the older material, arbitrarily appropriated, was incorporated with the new. We will begin our survey of this period of spoliation with the confiscation of the monastic libraries in England, since here the work of destruction was most drastic and complete and the traces of former ownership most carefully obliterated, so that but for the testimony of a few early witnesses and the recent efforts of modern "antiquarian societies," tardily aroused to a sense of the nation's guilt, it would be most difficult to estimate, at all adequately, its debt to its Catholic past. The "Great Pillage," as it has been aptly termed by a clergyman of the English Church,<sup>40</sup> was executed under State legislation, in the name of progress and reform.

Clark, in his "Care of Books,"<sup>41</sup> tells the sad story of its effects. "I hope," he writes, "I have succeeded in showing that the fifteenth century was emphatically the 'library era' throughout Europe. Monasteries, cathedrals, universities and secular institutions in general vied with each other in erecting libraries, stocking them with books, and in framing liberal regulations for making them useful to the public. To the development of study in all directions, the sixteenth century offers a sad and startling contrast. In France, the Huguenot movement took the form of a bitter hostility to the clergy, which, after the fashion of the day, exhibited itself in a very general destruction of churches, monasteries and their con-

<sup>40</sup> Rev. Augustus Jessop.

<sup>41</sup> Chap. viii., p. 245 and sequence.

tents, while England witnessed the suppression of the monastic orders and the annihilation, as far as was practicable, of all that belonged to them. I have shown that monastic libraries were the public libraries of the Middle Ages. More than this, the larger houses were centres of culture and education, maintaining schools for children and sending older students to the universities. In three years, between 1536 and 1539, the whole system was swept away as thoroughly as though it had never existed. The buildings pulled down, the materials sold, the plate melted, the books either burnt or put to the vilest uses to which literature can be subjected. Upwards of eight hundred monasteries were suppressed, and as a consequence upwards of eight hundred libraries of varying size and importance were done away with. By the year 1540 the only libraries left intact in England were those of the two universities and the cathedrals of the old foundations. . . . How great the loss was has probably been recorded by more than one historian, but, for the moment, I can think of nothing more graphic than the words of that bitter Protestant, John Bale, a contemporary who had seen the old libraries, and knew their value. The loss of the libraries themselves proclaims that worthy, had not mattered so much, 'beynge so many in nombre. If there had been in every shyre in Englande but one solempne lybrary to the preservacyon of those noble workes and preferrement of good lernynges in oure posteryte, it had ben yet sumwhat. But to destroye all without consyderacyon is, and ever will be, unto Englande forever, a most horrable infamy amonege the grave senyours of other nations. A greate nombre of those whych purchased these superstycouse mansyons, reserved of those lybrary bokes, some to scour their candlestycks, and some to rubbe theyr bootes. Some they sold to grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shypesfull, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons.'" "The universities," continued Clark, "though untouched by the suppression, were not allowed to remain long at peace. In 1549, commissioners were sent to Oxford and Cambridge by Edward VI. They considered that it lay within their province to reform the libraries as well as those who used them, and they did their work with a thoroughness that under other circumstances would be worthy of commendation." Anthony Wood,<sup>42</sup> the historian of Oxford, has told us in periods where "sorrow struggles with indignation, how the college libraries were treated, how manuscript which had nothing superstitious about them except a few rubricated initials, were carried to the market place on biers and there consumed." Macray<sup>43</sup> gives an almost identical ac-

<sup>42</sup> Wood, "Hist. Antiq. Oxien.", Vol. II., p. 106.

<sup>43</sup> Macray, "Annals of the Bodleian," second edition, p. 6.

count of the treatment meted out to the library of the university. This library, "now the central portion of the Bodleian," had been completed about 1480. It was well stocked with manuscript, the finest given by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. "Yet in this home of all that was noble in literature and splendid in art did this crew of ignorant fanatics cry 'havoc' with such success that only three of the Duke's manuscripts now remain in situ." Yet amid all this wanton destruction much was saved, and it is precisely of these survivals that it concerns us to speak. As we have already seen, King Henry and his myrmidons were shamelessly eager to enrich themselves at the expense of the nation. John Leland, the King's emissary, had already been commissioned to examine the libraries of cathedrals, abbeys, priories, colleges and other places wherein the records of antiquity were kept. But feeling his powers were insufficient to save much priceless material from destruction or theft, he wrote to Cromwell to extend his commission to collecting books for the King's Library. "The Germans," he says, "perceiving our desidiousness and negligence, are daily sending young scholars hither who spoil the books, cut them out of libraries and returning home put them out as monuments of their own country."<sup>44</sup> To the King's Library then, in London, were sent the "choicest volumes of St. Augustine's Abbey," with a goodly stock of others, for which Leland takes no little credit to himself as having "conserved" for the "most magnificent libraries of his majesty's royal palaces."<sup>45</sup> After Henry and his ministers, the Archbishops Cramner and Parker were the greatest beneficiaries of this literary spoil, and many a sumptuous volume or hoarded collection found its ultimate resting place in Lambeth, as its library still testifies. Thus, the Prior<sup>46</sup> of Lanthorny, with great risk and difficulty, had saved some of the books of his little community only, alas, that they might pass finally into the Archbishop's hands.<sup>47</sup> Parker made no secret of his acquisitions in this line, nor of the iniquitous means whereby he accomplished his ends, and formed out of other men's goods an "unusually large library, quite priceless in character." The purloiners of the age were indeed legion, but the two great reservoirs, into which numberless lesser tributaries found their way, were England's two greatest existing libraries; that of the British Museum and the Bodleian. Of the latter we do not need to speak directly, since it is generally acknowledged to be a "restoration" and its story has been eloquently

<sup>44</sup> Wood, "Athen. Oxon.," Vol. I., pp. 82-83; quoted also by Maitland, "Dark Ages," p. 285.

<sup>45</sup> Savage, "Old English Libraries," pp. 69-70.

<sup>46</sup> Dr. Montague James, "Manuscripts in Library Lambeth Palace," pp. 1-16. (Cambridge Ant. Soc. Pub., 33.)

<sup>47</sup> Priory near Gloucester, not the Abbey.

told in Macray's "Annals of the Bodleian." We will devote our attention to England's supremely greatest collection of books and show what part her pre-Reformation libraries, rifled and dismantled, have had in its formation. Although not organized under its present title until 1753-57 the history of its sources carries us back over three centuries, that is to say to the era of the Great Spoliation.<sup>48</sup> As originally founded, it consisted of five component parts, of which four were drawn from earlier and Catholic sources. These four components were: (1) "The Cottonian Manuscripts," (2) "The 'Old Royal' Library," (3) "The Arundel Manuscripts," (4) "The Harleian Manuscripts," the fifth and only originally post-Reformation contribution being the "Sloane Collection." Sir Robert Cotton, the original collector of the library known by his name, was born in 1570, and was one of those who petitioned Queen Elizabeth (vainly) for the formation of a national library. He took a leading part in the formation of the first English Antiquarian Society. In 1599 he traveled with the antiquarian, Camden, through Northern England, exploring "many an old abbey" in search of books.

"When that tour was made," writes Edwards, "the evidences of the ruthless barbarism with which the mandates of Henry VIII. had been carried out by his agents lay still thick upon the ground and may well have had their influence in modifying the religious views of such tourists."<sup>49</sup> This last clause seems added in allusion to the assertion of the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, that Cotton was a Catholic, an assertion which has been seriously considered by the historian, S. R. Gardiner.<sup>50</sup> It is indeed noteworthy how many contributors to the British Museum either were Catholics or labored under the suspicion of so being. Among the Cottonian manuscripts are many priceless treasures, gleaned on antiquarian tours, from suppressed monasteries. The titles of their catalogues give no clue to this fact, since they are somewhat amusingly named from the heads of Roman Emperors which decorated the presses in which they originally reposed. Thus "Nero, D, VI.," represents the Evangelinary of Athelstan; Domitian, A, XVII., fol. 96." the Psalter of Henry VI.; "Nero, D, IV.," the Lindisfarne Gospels; "Claudius, B, IV.," Aelfrie's Pentateuch, etc. Before their final gift to the nation the Cottonian manuscripts received additions from Camden, the pages of whose "Britannia" give useful information as to the manner of the acquisition from Dr. Dee, the fortunate recipient of certain spoils from St. Augustine's and other abbeys. The Old Royal Library contained a rich collection of early works. Besides

<sup>48</sup> Edwards, "Founders of British Museum," Vol. I., p. 13.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>50</sup> S. R. Gardiner, "Letters of Gondomar" ("Archelogia," Vol. XII.).

those seized by the royal robber, Henry VIII., it boasted volumes belonging to English kings from Henry VI. and earlier. The Duke of Bedford, Protector during Henry's minority, had culled a rich library during his wars in France, as had also Henry's second uncle, Cardinal Beaufort. This latter was a munificent patron of Oxford, but Bedford's library seems to have fallen to the King. This royal library was refounded, or restored, by Prince Henry, eldest son of James I., whose early death was so great a loss to the English people. This prince purchased and incorporated with the royal library an ancient collection, known as the "Lumley Library," inherited by John de Lumley (born 1530) from his father-in-law, Henry Fitzallen, Earl of Arundel (not to be confused with the later donor of that name), who had profited by the opportunities monastic suppression so abundantly afforded collectors.<sup>51</sup> Into the Lumley collection had also passed a part of Archbishop Cramner's library, and the two were further enriched by the acquisition of the Theyer Library, which included those very books the poor Prior of Lanthorny had so painfully endeavored to save. By the time these combined collections were incorporated into the British Museum they exceeded, we are told, 15,000 volumes.

Passing now to the Arundel manuscripts, properly so called, we find their collector to have been Thomas Howard, great grandson of the earlier Arundel. As that Earl had availed himself of the "golden opportunities which the reckless dispersal of monastic treasures" presented to booklovers in England, so the later Earl traveled abroad, establishing himself in Italy, where he was free to follow his religious convictions and where, between the years 1606 and 1646, he amassed a princely library for his native land. Besides valuable specimens of early printing gathered from Venice, Subiac and Rome, he found access through the ambassador at the Ottoman Porte to the "best libraries in Greece, where were loads of old books and manuscripts."<sup>52</sup> It was probably at this time that he obtained certain portions of the once famous Corvinus Library, which had not passed into the Imperial Library at Vienna. Later, he purchased the entire Pirckheimer Library, confiscated a century before by the authorities of Nuremberg, Germany. In addition, many magnificent volumes, presented by Popes, Cardinals and great personages, found their way into the Arundel collection—all of which treasure was left, in 1681, to the Royal Society, England, and, after long delay, transferred in 1831 to the trustees of the British Museum.

Into the formation of the Harleian manuscript collection, gathered by Sir Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, entered a number of impor-

<sup>51</sup> Edwards, "Founders of British Museum," pp. 20, 162, 173.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

tant private libraries, English and foreign, dating back to Elizabethan days. Most important among these was that of Sir Simond d'Ewes, contemporary and fellow-collector with Sir Robert Cotton, and the Stow collection of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Into the details of this accumulation time forbids us to enter. Before its final presentation to the nation it included 8,000 manuscripts, 50,000 printed works and about 400,000 pamphlets, charters, etc., containing material for early English history of inestimable value.<sup>53</sup> Of later contributions we will only mention briefly the (1) Grenville collections, noted for its rare incunabula and examples of early Italian printing. (2) The Jesuit libraries, purchased by the continental agents of George III. for the Second Royal Library at the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus. (3) The manuscripts obtained by Lord Elgin from the "ransacking of the churches and convents of Attica," with the priceless store obtained later from those of Syria and Nitria, when the guardians of the early Fathers of the desert were induced to yield their wealth to English explorers. Later, the Christian world was stirred by the publication of the Ignatian and Clementine Epistles and of Scriptural codices even more precious, with little realization of the debt which British scholars of the nineteenth century owed to monks of the fourth!

Turning now to France we find a double depredation of Catholic libraries: That perpetrated by the Huguenots during the "Wars of the Religion," when libraries such as Corbie were scattered far and wide and others entirely burned. Martène furnishes many sad instances of such vandalism in his "Voyage Literaire de deux Religieux Benedictins de la Congregation de St. Maur." But the Great Pillage "par excellence" occurred in France at the time of her Revolution. In February, 1790, the National Assembly abolished the different religious communities, and in September of the same year, the provincial tribunals and parliaments met with the same fate. The books of these corporations, said to number between ten and twelve millions, were declared national property and a committee was appointed to consider what should be done with them. In the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*<sup>54</sup> this estimate of ten to twelve millions is reduced to 6,800,000, but only includes those actually transferred to large repositories. An addition of 93,986 manuscripts and 15,540 incunabula is allowed, with the possible farther one of 2,428,954 volumes now in universities, whose monastic

<sup>53</sup> Edwards, pp. 237, 242.

<sup>54</sup> There is a notable difference between the articles "Library" in the ninth and eleventh editions of the *Britannica*. Much data relating to monastic literature and its transfer is omitted in the latter, also a useful tabular synopsis, giving dates of foundations and hints as to contents. Except for recent statistics, etc., we have preferred to quote the former.

origin is not absolutely traceable. While grateful for these accredited lists of acknowledged "monastica," yet it remains sadly true that as in England, so in France, the change in literary ownership was not accomplished without great loss. The "Convention Nationale," which decreed the "Establishment and Augmentation of Public Libraries," did not meet until four years after the confiscation, and their orders were not always carefully executed. Pitiful tales are told of valuable works sold by the yard, as they lay upon the ground, of precious manuscripts and printed rarities left to rot in the open air or burnt as fuel. It is to the large number of books remaining, however, that the provincial libraries of France chiefly owe their oft-praised wealth. Many of these, as at Douai, Troyes, Besançon, Aix, Nantes, Grenoble and Bordeaux, are very noble, and take rank just below libraries of the first grade.

Many of these libraries, it is true, existed from earlier times, but this fact only confirms our claim as to the existence of pre-Reformation literature in modern collections. In regard to the great Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, no doubt can be entertained of its ancient and Catholic origin, since it is simply the former "Bibliotheque du Roi," which traces its descent from Charlemagne and St. Louis, the name only having been changed at the French Revolution. We do not need to repeat the story of its founding, nor of the fostering care it received from early French kings. We will mention only two details of its later life, which show that, like its rival in England, it received direct increment from confiscated monastic sources. Colbert, the Minister of Louis XIV., was one of the greatest of book collectors, and persuaded that monarch to commission Dom Mabillon and other Benedictines to make an exhaustive search through the religious houses of France for manuscript suitable for the King's library. The famous Benedictine journeyed through Melun, Sens, Auxerre, Dijon, etc., visiting Cluny, Citeaux and other abbeys, the results of his survey being summed up in his "Iter Burgundicum." The next year he was directed to proceed through Germany on a similar errand. The output obtained suggested a journey through Italy, and this in turn led to one through Alsace.<sup>55</sup> During this reign the library increased from less than 20,000 to 70,000 volumes. Again, at the time of the Revolution it was enormously increased both by contributions from suppressed convents and from the inherited family libraries of exiled or guillotined nobles. Another source of wealth to the Bibliotheque du Roi was from the many bequests of noted ecclesiastics and the valuable Oriental manuscripts brought from India, China and the Levant by France's devoted missionaries. The

<sup>55</sup> "Voyage Literaire," Mabillon, quoted by Maitland in "Dark Ages," p. 22.

Mazarine Library and that of Ste. Geneviève, which rank next at Paris after the Bibliotheque Nationale, owe their origin wholly to ecclesiastical benefactions, as we have previously shown, the latter having been still further enriched in 1710 by M. Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, with his collection of 50,000 volumes. The only library at Paris which even claims a modern origin is the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, which really traces itself back to the Marquis de Paulmy, in the time of Louis XIV., who devoted all his time and wealth to its acquisition, and at whose death it numbered 100,000 printed works, with 3,000 manuscripts. The great library at St. Petersburg, or, as we should now say, Petrograd, which ranks third in Europe, was begun with the spoliation of Catholic Courland by Peter the Great in 1714. In 1795 the great Polish library collected by the two Zaluski brothers, Bishops respectively of Cracow and Warsaw, and then under the charge of the Jesuits, was carried bodily to St. Petersburg. Since then it has received noble additions, but not the least of these have been from Greek and Oriental convents, the number of Patristic and Biblical codices being very large. The crowning glory of these latter is the "Codex Siniaticus," brought by Tischendorf from the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai.

Hence we see that of the three largest repositories of books in the world one was founded in Protestant England, indeed, but almost entirely from English Catholic sources, while pains were taken later to procure the best early works Catholic countries could supply. One was founded and maintained by Catholic kings until 1800, then nationalized, but still preserved intact, while the third was founded entirely on spoil from conquered Catholic countries, though later augmented by a remarkably large number of private collections by Slavonic and German scholars and by the Hermitage Collection of the Empress Catharine II. (chiefly French), yet not disdaining the purchase of many valuable incunabula from Italy and the purveyance of manuscripts from Oriental convents of the Greek and Latin rites. In regard to Italian libraries, we have no to prove their ancient and Catholic origin, yet here, too, the work of secularization has been carried on so sweepingly as to disguise as far as may be future evidences of such origin. The movement began with a gradual suppression of religious houses as far back as 1848, the property of such suppressed houses passing after a few intermediate steps to the State. More sweeping acts followed in 1867, but it was not until 1874 that a general secularization of all libraries under religious control was proclaimed. During the

<sup>56</sup> British Encyclopedia, ninth edition, art. "Italy," p. 459; art. "Library," p. 528.

Ministry of Signor Bongi this secularization was carried out and almost all the great libraries of Italy formed under the protecting care of the Church and endowed by the generosity of her children passed under State control, including university libraries, since education was secularized. Meanwhile the Minister of Public Instruction "kept a watchful eye" upon the "literary treasures of the suppressed monastic bodies."<sup>56</sup> Seventeen hundred of these confiscated libraries, chiefly in the States of the Church, were found to contain two and one-half million books. Of these, 650 collections were distributed among existing libraries; the remainder served to form 415 communal libraries. The library of the venerable Collegio Romano became the "Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele." Later the great Dominican library, the Casanateuse, was seized by the Government, although admission was freely given to the public, the annual number of readers being about 18,000. In Naples the "Nazionale" was formed from the library of Cardinal Scripando, enriched by "many private and conventional collections thrown upon the Neapolitan market in 1848." The Palermo "Biblioteca Nazionale" was formed from the Collegio Massimo of the Jesuits, "enriched" by additions from other libraries of the same order. We need not continue the tale, since the same plan of secularization was adopted everywhere throughout Italy till of all her glorious religious libraries none remained inviolate save only that of the Vatican, the personal property of the Holy Father at Rome, with the world-famous cradle of Benedictine life, Monte Cassino, the latter only escaping confiscation through the indignant protests of Christendom. As in England and France, these literary confiscations were not accomplished without loss and theft. Julius Hare, in his "Walks in Rome," tells a sad tale of volumes and papers piled in reckless confusion on the first floor of the Collegio Romano, being quietly disposed of by the janitor for his personal advantage, until one day the attention of a worthy citizen was attracted by finding his morning's supply of butter wrapped in an autograph letter of Columbus! and the mischief was traced to its source.<sup>57</sup>

Turning from Italy to those strongholds of Catholicity, Southern Germany and Austria, we still find the same secularization of Catholic libraries, although here much has been spared. The Royal Library at Munich, itself of pre-Reformation date, received large accessions in 1803 from "disestablished monasteries," 1803 having been in Germany an era of disestablishment, following as a species of tidal wave in the wake of the French Revolution. Many especially of its rich incunabula and rare musical manuscripts were derived from this source. In like manner the University Library of Ingol-

<sup>56</sup> See "Collegio Romano," Hare, "Walks in Rome," Vol. I.

stadt, founded in 1472, but removed early in the nineteenth century to Munich, participated in the same divided treasure. The public library of Stuttgart, of so-called modern formation, owes its fame almost exclusively to its collection of over 7,000 mediæval Bibles. The library at Darmstadt, though modern, was built upon the foundation of an older library. The ducal library at Gotha, established by Ernest the Pious in the seventeenth century, is largely drawn from "monastic collections."

In Austria the wealth of monastic libraries is still very great. Dr. J. Grant Wilson, returning from his literary tour of investigation, made in the early nineties, speaks of "the hundred or more monastic libraries in Austria, varying in size from 1,000 to 80,000 volumes."<sup>58</sup> Of these, the largest as well as the oldest is that of St. Peter, at Salzburg, founded by St. Rupert in the sixth century, which possesses 60,000 books, with 20,000 incunabula. Next in point of antiquity comes Kremsmünster with 50,000 volumes, Lambach with 22,000, Admont with 80,000, Melk with 60,000. Dr. Petzhold, the great authority on German libraries, mentions in his report of 107 libraries 56 possessed of over 5,000 volumes.<sup>59</sup> But in countries so wholeheartedly Catholic as Southern Germany and Austria have always been we do not need to draw specific attention to monastic literature, except as confirmatory evidence of its wealth, since the whole output is Catholic and has come down to us from the ages of faith. In Northern Germany, on the contrary, Lutheranism began its religious life with the sweeping destruction of monastic houses and property. Catholic universities were denied subsidy and their libraries removed to newly founded Protestant ones.<sup>60</sup> Did space permit, it would be most interesting to follow in detail the history of the Imperial Library at Berlin. We should find it almost identical in outline with that of the British Museum—i. e., founded originally on appropriations from Catholic sources. A little reflection will show us it could hardly have been otherwise, for of all the German States Prussia was the latest in development, its inhabitants remaining pagan till far into the thirteenth century. As late as 1257 Ottokar, King of Bohemia, led a crusade against the heathen "Preussi." When the "Great Elector" in 1661 founded his library, choosing Berlin as his capital, it was a small provincial town, whose citizens spoke Wendish! At this date the terrible Thirty Years' War had but recently ended (1648). Germany was in a state of inanition. More than a century was required to recover from a contest which had reduced the population from thirty millions to

<sup>58</sup> Dr. J. Grant Wilson, "The World's Largest Libraries" (monograph), p. 39.

<sup>59</sup> Petzhold, "Katechismus der Bibliothekenlehre," Leipsic, 1871.

<sup>60</sup> Denifle, "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters."

eight millions, turned the fairest provinces into blackened and dreary wildernesses and brought out the wild beasts of the forest to prowl through the streets of towns! The great writers of Germany had not yet been born, and anything like native literature was unknown in Prussia. That a famous library could be founded at such an epoch surely indicates that the founders drew from earlier sources. We know where such books were preserved; we know, too, that from the first establishment of the printing press for fully a century later its efforts were directed to printing and publishing these works of the past. Not till this task was fairly accomplished did modern works begin to claim their attention. It seems evident also that a library rich in manuscript literature—Berlin boasts over 16,000—Incunabula, rare Aldines and other early editions, all of which ceased to be produced before or shortly after its foundation, must have borrowed from the past, though time forbids us to trace the course of their acquisition.<sup>61</sup> For such details we must refer our readers to Petzhold's "Katechismus der Bibliothekenlehre" and two valuable works of Dr. Edwards, "Memoirs of Libraries" with "Great Libraries and Their Founders."

The lesser libraries of North Germany still date largely from mediæval times. The cities of Dantzig, Marienberg and Koenigsburgh belonged originally to Poland, and their libraries were founded either by Catholic Poles or by the Teutonic Knights. Those of the Rhineland, Aix, Strasbourg and Frankfurt are all early. That of Leipsic, in Saxony, dates back to 1409. The library of Dresden, indeed, was of post-Reformation date, but is so famous as a treasure-house of all that is rare and artistic in early book work that we do not need to prove its debt in this respect. Moreover, the art-loving sovereigns of Saxony abjured the Lutheran faith and returned to Catholicity in 1697. The "Bibliotheque Royale" at Brussels is chiefly drawn from two sources—the famous collection of the "Ducs de Bourgogne," which was really the library of the Austrian rulers of the Low Countries, which had accumulated for centuries, and that of the Bollandists, "acquired" about 1830, united with the Royal Library in 1837. The libraries of Ghent, Louvain and Liège are or were admittedly Catholic in foundation and character. It may surprise some to learn that Spain's National Library outranks that of Belgium, standing thirteenth on the European list, while that of Brussels stands nineteenth.<sup>62</sup> As no one will dispute Spain's

<sup>61</sup> When Frederick the Great determined to erect a new building for his library, till then housed in a wing of his palace, he told the architect to choose a chest of drawers as his model. In this ugly building they remained until just before this present war. The opening of the present beautiful new library designed by Ihne, March 22, 1914, was attended by our Ambassador, Gerard.

<sup>62</sup> "World's Largest Libraries" (monograph), p. 52.

Catholicity, however, we will add nothing to the brief outline already given of it. In closing this attempt to indicate the Catholic origin of Europe's great modern libraries we would fully recognize their marvelous increase in content during the few last centuries. But we may be tempted to ask ourselves whether *values* have increased in equal ratio. Will the volumes running up so rapidly into the millions retain their places for centuries to come and become the glories of their respective repositories as the old pre-Reformation folios have done? Leslie Stephen<sup>63</sup> tells us that "not one author in a thousand can make his voice audible at the distance of a generation," while J. Grant Wilson<sup>64</sup> adds that "much which comes from the press represents a tremendous waste of human effort and energy melancholy to contemplate." Such thoughts as these must give us pause. At least they will enable us to feel that the Church will centuries before the invention of printing could inspire men to form such libraries as the "ages of faith" produced and later could utilize the press for such noble work as that to which early printing attained in Germany and Italy may well be reverently and proudly hailed by her children as preëminently the patroness of literature.

E. VON RYCKEN WILSON.

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<sup>63</sup> "Duties of Authors;" address, London Ethical Society, February, 1894.

<sup>64</sup> "World's Largest Libraries" (monograph), p. 50.

## THE BALKANS AND THE WAR.

**I**T WILL hardly be denied that the nursery of the present world war was the Balkan States, and this being granted, there will not be much difficulty in conceding that the cradle of it was Macedonia, which Lord Lansdowne once said was "a standing menace to European peace and the most dangerous spot in the danger zone."

The Balkan States differ from the Great Powers not only in being small nations, but in being uncertain of their own limitations. They have no fixed boundaries and do not know on which side, if any, they will be allowed to expand when peace is made. For them, therefore, the eastern front is more important than the western. They are more interested in the defeat of Austria, not to speak of Turkey, than of Germany. If Bulgaria had thrown in her lot with the rest of the Balkan States, they would have been equal in strength to one of the great Powers, but Bulgaria's defection was a great blow, not only to the Allies, but to all these smaller nations in particular. The whole existence of each and all of these States was at stake when they joined in the war, so they were perforce obliged to think of what they believed to be their own individual interest. This was the reason why Bulgaria and Roumania, a small nation, though not a Balkan State, sat on the hedge so long, and then decided as each conceived to be for their own advantage.

Fortunately for them, many of these nations are very hardy and die hard, and are apparently indifferent to pain; they certainly bear it most heroically. The Serbians in particular fought through the first winter of the war in those mountainous districts, where the cold is intense, without great-coats and without shoes or boots; they had only sandals, and they suffered more from frost-bite, which is agonizing pain, than from wounds, and they bore the most painful operations without anaesthetics.

Three great facts have dominated the situation in the Balkan States for generations. First and foremost, the rule and oppression of the Turks for centuries; second, the self-interested interference of the Great Powers, and, third, the awakening of the spirit of Nationalism and the assertion of their rights in all these unhappy countries. Before the present war Serbia, under Kara George, had achieved her liberation, but she was the only one of these States, if we except Montenegro, that had done so. Nationalism, which is now the policy and aim of all these States, owes

its origin to Napoleon, who formed from the Southern Slav provinces the State of Illyria, with its capital at Laibach, whose poets were the Slovene priest, Vodnik, and the Montenegrin Prince-Bishop, Peter Petrovic Njegos. It was French influence also which stirred Roumania to assert her nationality and made her realize her Latin origin, just as it was English influence which stirred Greece to remember her former greatness and reassert herself, and Russia who helped Bulgaria in the same cause.

Austria and the Hapsburgs have one redeeming fact to their credit until the present war. They have always sided with the Christians in the Balkans and protected them from the Turks, but political considerations have now made Turkey their ally, and these small and for the most part Christian nations their enemies. We say for the most part Christian because it must not be forgotten that there is a very large Moslem population in Bosnia and a good many Moslems are in Albania and scattered about among the other Slav nations. The inhabitants of these States are all peasant nations, democratic, owning their own land, having no aristocracy; the Turks having exterminated the nobility, and there is a very small middle class.

Before the war we heard a great deal of Greater Serbia, by which was meant the union of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia and the Slovene districts in Austria. These if united were to form a large kingdom within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, but this dream of Ugo-Slavism, as it was called, is over now so far as Austria-Hungary is concerned.

Bulgaria, which has been called the Judas of the Slav nations, has refused to join in the struggle for Pan-Slavism.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were annexed by Austria in 1878, are Serbo-Croat purely and are far from contented with Austrian rule, although they prefer it to Turkish government, unless they adopt Islam, as most of the Bosnians have done, from political reasons. Dalmatia also is pure Slav. The Croats, Serbs and Slovenes all feel they are one people, and that united they would make one strong nation, and in considering them we must never forget that their national instincts are stronger than their religious feelings. The churches in all these countries are more or less political instruments, generally more than less. The Serbians have a proverb which accurately defines this characteristic: "He is my brother, no matter what his faith may be."

The terms Croat and Serb are now used more in an ecclesiastical sense rather than in a political meaning. The Croats are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; the Serbs are Orthodox and use the

Cyrillic characters. The great champion of Southern Slav unity is the Catholic Bishop, Strossmayrr. It was in the seventh century that these Southern Slavs spread from Slovenia, now an Austrian province on the northwest, to Bulgaria, on the southeast, inhabiting all these countries, Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, all speaking the same language and approximating in numbers to their present neighbors, the Magyars.

Christianity was introduced to these States from two opposite sources—the Croats were converted to Catholicism from Salzburg and Aquileia; the Serbs to the Orthodox Church from Byzantium, and gradually the names Croat and Serb have, as we said, come to be used in a religious rather than in a political sense.

All these nations have always been handicapped by their geographical positions, and the conditions which this imposes upon them—the numerous mountain ranges of the Balkans, the rapid rivers, and the rocky soil have hindered agriculture as well as commerce, and with the inaccessibility from the land of almost all the Dalmatian ports, have been serious drawbacks to trade. Montenegro is fortunate in this respect; her one seaport, Antivari, has an imposing harbor, but the Black Mountain rises immediately behind it, which, while on the one hand safeguarding the country, denies it railway development.

The Croats flourished till the beginning of the twelfth century, when they were annexed by Hungary. Dalmatia came under Venetian rule in 1420, but is now a crownland and kingdom of the Austrian Empire. Serbia attained the zenith of her prosperity in 1336-1350, under the Czar Stephen, but lost her independence in the battle of Kossovo, when she was defeated by the Turks. The Croats and Slovene have always remained Catholic, and came under the Hapsburg rule, while the Turks ruled Serbia and Bosnia, till, with the aid of Russia, Serbia regained her independence. In the twelfth century the Armenian heresy penetrated into Bosnia, when the perverts to it were called Bogumils, and most of the Bosnian nobles embraced this faith. In the fifteenth century the Bosnian landowners adopted Islam, and prosperity followed this course, though it fluctuated with the fortunes of Turkey. After these general remarks it will be more convenient to deal with each of these Balkan countries separately, and we will begin with Serbia.

#### SERBIA.

Serbia in a sense is a second Belgium, both countries being conquered and occupied by the Central Powers. Through Serbia, Germany hopes to advance to her real objective, India, and in the

opinion of some writers, who are bold enough to venture into the dangerous realm of strategy, it is through Serbia rather than through Belgium that we can best hope to conquer Germany. Be that as it may, Serbia was the chief obstacle in the way of the Germanic powers to the East. She stood between Berlin and Bagdad; that is why they hate her so bitterly.

Old Servia included Bosnia, Montenegro and Herzegovina. Its centre was in the plain of Kossovo, and it extended to the north of that, and under its last Emperor, Stephen Dushan, it covered the whole Balkan Peninsula except Constantinople and Salonica. On Stephen's sudden death in 1356 his empire collapsed on the fatal field of Kossovo. The Serbian aristocracy fled to Montenegro, Bosnia, Hungary and Macedonia, and Turkish rule prevailed over the former Serbian empire.

The Serbians have had more fighting than all the Balkan States, which is saying a good deal, and up to the present moment they have lost more, the latest news of them being the atrocities they are suffering at the hands of the Bulgarians. They fought Bulgaria in modern times in 1885, in 1912 and now again 1916-1917. They fought the Turks three times in the nineteenth century and twice in this. Austria has been their enemy, besides Turkey and Bulgaria, for generations.

Serbia attained her independence again under Kara George, whose murder in 1817 was the first of those dynastic crimes which have stained Serbian history. The murder of Michael Obrenovitch was the second of these crimes, the murders of King Alexander and Queen Draga the third, and the assassinations of the Grand Duke Ferdinand the last, and the ostensible but not the real cause of the present world war.

The Obrenovitch Kings, Milan and his son, Alexander, with his wife Draga, were pro-Austrian, and this was the cause of the deposition of Milan and the murder of Alexander and Draga, a crime which for a long time blackened the reputation of Serbia in Europe, but though inexcusable, it was done in that struggle for the life and nationalization of small nations for which we are now supposed to be fighting. So long as Serbia was under Austrian domination she could not hope to be a free country, and so long as an outlet to the sea was denied her, her hands were tied and her commercial and economic prospects crippled by Austria on the one hand and by Turkey and Bulgaria on the other side. In 1918 the Serbian Prime Minister, Pasich, achieved a great triumph when he succeeded in getting Turkey to allow his country to export through Salonica. A vital necessity for Serbia when peace is made is a seaport.

The Serbians are a democratic nation. The present royal family

of the Kara Georges were originally swineherds and that not so many generations ago. The peasants have charming manners; all Serbians are naturally kind and courteous, and women are safer in Serbia than in many other European countries. It is almost unknown for a Serbian soldier to molest a woman. All who have nursed Serbian soldiers speak of their gratitude, their gentleness, patience and the marvelous courage with which they bear terrible pain and suffering. In addition to this they have the highest military qualities. They love the French and English and all English-speaking peoples, and think that the English will never forsake them and their cause.

They are as devoted to art and to poetry as they are to war and are very sentimental. Their national songs are handed down from generation to generation. They have all the dreaminess which characterizes the Slav nations, but they are more progressive than the other Slavs and look towards Western civilization.

Their religion is Orthodox, but like all the Eastern Churches, the Serbian Church is independent and has a liturgy and ritual of its own; Mass is said in the Slav language. The Serbians, the peasants especially, are strongly attached to their Church, but quite as much, if not more, because it is a national organization as from any religious or ecclesiastical reasons. This is true of all the Eastern Churches, and they tend more and more to become political institutions. Recent travelers in Turkey tell us that much of the fanaticism attributed to the Turks is not due so much to Islam as to political reasons. The massacres that so frequently occur in countries under Turkish rule are not so much the risings of Mahomedans against Christians as of Turks against alien nations. This is more and more the case since the coming into power of the Young Turks; the old-fashioned Turk regarded Christians as unclean animals, but the Young Turk regards them rather as political enemies.

All the Eastern Churches are one in doctrine. Even the Bulgarian Church, which is in schism with all the others, does not differ from them on doctrinal questions, but it rejects the authority of the Greek Patriarch and is ruled by its own Exarch.

The head of the Serbian Church is the Archbishop of Belgrade. In Hungary the Serbian Church there is autonomous and under the government of the Patriarch of Carlowitz.

The Serbians, like all Eastern Christians, fast most severely. They have four Lents. Besides the six weeks' Lent before Easter, they have a thirty days' Lent before Christmas and a week or ten days' fast before Pentecost and the Feast of the Assumption. The Orthodox fast is a black fast; fish, eggs, milk and butter are for-

bidden as well as meat, and the Serbians observe these fasts most strictly.

In addition to the feasts of the Church, the Serbians have a feast called the Slava. Every Serbian family and every Serbian regiment has its Slava. In the family it is handed down from father to son and is celebrated on the feast of the patron-saint of the father or in the case of the regiment of the patron-saint of the regiment. It is kept up for three days, the pièce de résistance being roast pork, pigs being Serbia's greatest export. During the present war the Serbian regiments celebrated their Slava day whenever it was possible, and at Christmas some of the officers with a priest went to cut down with the usual ceremony the Christmas log and brought it into camp, to be lighted on Christmas Eve after the Serbian custom, for it is the great feature in their celebration of Christmas.

#### DALMATIA.

Dalmatia is pure Slav. This is proved by the fact that for one thousand years the ancient Slav liturgy was sung in the churches in Northern Dalmatia and in many of the Dalmatian islands on her coast line. In the past both Venice and Hungary fought for the possession of Dalmatia, and in the fifteenth century Venice conquered and won the part on the coast. Two of the most celebrated Venetian painters, Carpaccio and Schiavone, were both Dalmatian Slavs. From 1813 to 1866 Dalmatia was under Austrian rule; from 1867 to 1903 the Serbo-Croats predominated. Three to four per cent. of the population are Italians, and from a strategic point of view portions of the Dalmatian coast are necessary to Italy, but for Italy to annex Dalmatia would be to violate the great principle for which the Allies are fighting, the independence of small nations.

Zara, the capital, is the only place where Italian can be said to be the native language. Educated Dalmatian Slavs speak Italian as a second language, just as educated Russians speak French as a second language, and the educated Greeks of the Ionian Isles, Italian. In the shops, on the quays of the numerous ports, in the streets of the town and in the villages Southern Slavonic is everywhere spoken. The inhabitants are of Croat origin and the religion of eighty-three and one-half per cent. of the population is Catholic.<sup>1</sup>

When the maritime parts of Dalmatia were under Venetian rule, as they were from 1301 till 1797, the Doges of Venice took the title of Duke of Dalmatia. When Napoleon united Dalmatia and

<sup>1</sup> Bouillet, "Dictionnaire Historique."

Croatia Slovenia in the province of Illyria he renewed the title of Duke of Dalmatia and bestowed it upon Maréchal Soult.

#### ALBANIA.

None of the Balkan nations bear a worse reputation than the Albanians for fierceness, cruelty, massacres and atrocities on the one hand, and none have a better name for bravery, honesty, truthfulness and honor on the other hand. Christian or Moslem, whichever he be, the Albanian is to be trusted with untold gold by the master he has promised to serve. He is often a brigand, never a thief, for he looks upon brigandage as a profession and would scorn to steal. Proud as he is fierce, to strike him is almost certain death to the striker. Cruel as the massacres in which he took part in the Morea, in Old Serbia, in Macedonia and Adrianople within recent times prove him to be, he has redeeming qualities, among which his chivalry to women may be reckoned; and his handsome person, his splendid attire, his noble courage, have won him the admiration of most travelers, in spite of the terror he strikes into the hearts of his enemies and the persistence with which he keeps us blood-feuds.

The Albanians call themselves Arnauts and Skipetars; they never use the word Albanian. Two-thirds of them are Moslem and fill high office in all parts of Turkey. The Sultan's palace guards are Albanians, and yet in spite of the high esteem in which the Turks hold them, they hate and despise the Turks and consider themselves a race apart, and they never marry any one who is not of their own race and their own rank, and, when Moslems, they rarely if ever have more than one wife. The Christian Albanians in the North are Catholics; those in the South are Orthodox. Albania was invaded and settled by Slav tribes in the middle ages, and the town of Prisren was formerly the capital of the Serbian Kings.

Twice in its history Albania has been an independent kingdom for a short time—once in the fifteenth century and again under Ali Pasha from 1807 to 1822, but the Albanians seem too wild a nation at present for self-government, capable as many individuals are of administrative power.

The conversion of about three-fourths of the Albanians to Islam is not very sincere. Many villages have a public mosque and underneath it a subterranean Christian chapel, in which they worship quite as devoutly. Their children are frequently baptized as well as circumcised, while devotion to Our Lady is very great and common to both Moslems and Christians, which leads one to think that if they were released from Turkish rule they would soon revert to

Christianity. They are a most warlike people and practically live with their rifles in their hands, and even when engaged on field labor they will sling them on their shoulders and seem to be ashamed to be seen without them. They are nearly always at war with some tribe or engaged in a blood-feud. That they are capable of being famed is shown by the Albanian Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul who are at Monastir, and are as gentle as they are patient and courageous in suffering, and are an excellent example of the educational power and sanctifying influence of the Catholic religion.

It would seem that there is a mystical element latent in the Albian nature, for the more sincere Albanian Moslems belong to the Bektashis, an heretical sect of Mahomedans, a sort of religious order, whose priests are dervishes and to whose monasteries are attached thousands of lay brethren. They are mystics and strive after a kind of union with God, but their teaching is pantheistical and has been influenced also by Buddhism, and they believe that no life, even of insects, should be wantonly taken. They were founded by a monk named Bektash, and though there is no open schism between them and Islam, the Turks call them atheists and they mutually hate and despise each other.

The Greco-Italo-Albanian question is one that will have to be settled at the end of the war, particularly with regard to the southern frontier and the port of Avlona, which Italy desires and partially occupied in November, 1914, and whose neutralization she will consider vital to her interests, and again with regard to the Epirus, whose inhabitants are Greek in nationality and sentiment, and which province the Powers included in Albania in 1913. The return of M. Venizelos to power will doubtless facilitate matters, as he is inclined to adopt a moderate policy with regard to Albania, whose nationalization will affect greatly both Greece and Italy. There are also differences between Montenegro and Albania which will also have to be adjusted with regard to Skodra, most important to them both.

The feuds between the Montenegrins and the Albanians on the frontier are constant. The Albanians make raids across the border and steal sheep and kill the shepherds, then the Montenegrins have a vendetta against them and do not rest until the crime is avenged. The Montenegrins often win in vendettas where they only number ten to Albanian hundreds. One clan of Albanians are subject to Montenegro and they are loyal to her.

All Northern Albania is Catholic, though there may be a few Moslems among them, and the safest guide for travelers in a country where traveling is most dangerous is a Franciscan friar. The Franciscans in Albania are mostly Neapolitans and they lead a very

hard, strenuous and perilous life, traveling about and saying Mass in out-of-the-way places. These wild Albanian men bring their rifles, from which they are never separated, to Mass with them and pile them up against the walls or hang them on the trees. Sometimes on feast days at the close of Mass they salute with a fusilade from their rifles, firing the bullets, not blank cartridges, up in the air. Mr. Wyon, who has traveled much in Albania and Montenegro, was present at a Mass where this was done near the Montenegrin border of Albania. He was not a Catholic, but he was greatly impressed by the Catholic services he attended in this wild country and by the devotion of the Franciscan friars. On another occasion he was present at a Mass said on a wild plateau surrounded by mountains, some of them snow-peaked, where there was formerly a church, but where not a vestige of it remained but a heap of stones, which served as a bell, and the congregation consisted of shepherds and peasants. The women prostrated, with their faces on the ground, at the elevation and the men held up their hands, their rifles being left where the walls of the former church stood.

The Albanians in their picturesque costumes of white serge embroidered with black, into which the women introduce some red embroidery, made a most impressive spectacle on this wild background of mountains. Sometimes the friar will call the shepherds and other peasants together on the downs and say the Rosary. They teach the Albanian boys to read and write and to sing in the choir, but they cannot teach them not to murder. These terrible blood-feuds are actually considered holy by them and they cannot be taught to abandon the custom. Life is held terribly cheap, indeed, there is an Albanian proverb to the effect that "a man's life is worth the price of a cartridge."<sup>2</sup>

The Albanians hate the Turks and have vendettas against them, and one clan of Albanians is frequently at war or has a feud against another clan.

#### MACEDONIA.

In this most dangerous spot to European peace in the Balkan Peninsula the population consists of Bulgars, Greeks, Serbs, Albanians, Vlachs, Turks, Slavs, Jews and gypsies. Of these the Bulgars are the most numerous. They all hate each other, but they all hate the Turks more than they hate each other. This in itself is not a condition conducive to peace; neither does the fact that all Serbian Macedonia (where the Bulgars are the most numerous) is Bulgarian in sympathy and wishes to be under Bulgarian rule, exactly make for unity.

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<sup>2</sup> "The Balkans From Within," by Reginald Wyon.

The Jews are very numerous in Macedonia. In Salonica alone they number 80,000, and here they are a very rich and powerful community, monopolizing commerce and terrorizing the Christians, who fear that any day they will join with the Turks to massacre them. In 1913 Salonica and most of the coast was assigned to Greece, and the interior to Serbia, and, roughly speaking, the majority of the inhabitants on the sea-line, barring the Jews of Salonica, are Greeks and the majority of the interior inhabitants are Bulgars. In the interior the people if asked do not seem to know whether they were originally Serbs or Bulgars. Mr. Brailsford, who has studied the question on the spot, thinks they were neither Bulgar nor Serb, but a Slav people, "derived from various stocks."<sup>3</sup> There are villages where the people are Bulgars to-day, but a few years ago were Greek. To the Greek, Macedonia is the country of Alexander; to the Slav, it is a land which for generations and generations his forefathers have tilled. Its cosmopolitan population and its geographical position alike make it a hotbed of contention, and the politician who settles the Macedonian question on a firm basis will be a second Solomon, for the principle of autonomy for small nations does not apply to a country populated by so many different races, where anarchy would probably follow if self-government were granted. Nevertheless, the Greeks of Macedonia look forward to liberation and unification. On one point in this unhappy land, where race hatred is so prevalent and so strong, all the Slav nations are agreed—that is, that the Turk must go and liberation from Turkish rule be one of the conditions of peace. But even here complications arise on religious grounds. Many of the Albanians, Slavs and Greeks of Macedonia are Moslems, and when this is the case they are loosely called Turks, whatever their nationality may be, and then they are opposed to their Christian fellow-countrymen.

Under Turkish rule no Christian in any rank of life is allowed authority over Moslems. As recently as 1906 in the Turkish army a Negro officer, if a Moslem, might command Turkish soldiers, but never could a Christian do so. This has been modified, though to what extent is not exactly known to us, since the Turkish army has been officered by Germans, though before the war, when Von der Goltz was the commander-in-chief of the Turks, he had not the power to put a Moslem private under arrest.<sup>4</sup>

Conversions to Islam arise not from religious conviction, but because converts wish to belong to the dominant class and to be free from the tyranny to which Christians are exposed and to enjoy the wealth and position denied to them so long as they remain true to

<sup>3</sup> "Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future." H. N. Brailsford.

<sup>4</sup> H. N. Brailsford, "Macedonia."

their faith. The unhappy state of Macedonia is best realized by the knowledge that the predominant passion of the people is fear. It has become a disease. People are reported as ill with fear; even the stolid Bulgars, who appear almost insensible to pain, succumb to this fear, which periodically seizes all the subject races of Macedonia. One reason for it is that they never know when a massacre may break out or when a punitive expedition by the Turks be undertaken, for there is no regular police. These expeditions take their place. That the Turk must go from Macedonia when peace is proclaimed seems to be one condition that all the Christian nations there would be unanimous in supporting.

There are very few Catholics in Macedonia, and those there are almost entirely Albanians. The Greeks, Bulgars and Serbs are all Orthodox, though each nation has its own Church, with its own ritual and liturgy in its own language, and the Bulgars are in schism with all the other Eastern Churches. The gypsies, who are very numerous in Macedonia, are nominally Moslem, but when they wander into Bulgaria or Serbia, they invariably profess Christianity, but their religion, whatever it may be, sits very lightly upon them.

The Greek contention that Macedonia belongs to them is based on two grounds, one religious, the other political. On religious grounds they claim Macedonia, because they say that the inhabitants owe their conversion to Christianity and their civilization to the Greek Orthodox Church; on political grounds they say the country is theirs by right of conquest, beginning of course with Alexander the Great. They say "the Slav is the enemy," and this being so, according to them, the Greek Bishops, who are both intolerant and corrupt, persecute the Bulgars in Macedonia in a very cruel way. At a place called Castoria, where the Greek Archbishop resides, a Bulgarian Bishop ventured recently (1906) to enter the town. The Archbishop was informed, and the Bulgar was seized and carried out of the town into one of the forests, and there abandoned in a place said to be inhabited by wolves and bears and Bulgars. It was Turkish soldiers who escorted the Bulgar Bishop thither, but it was by the order of the Greek Archbishop. The Greek Bishops are rarely educated, but this particular man was. Another story told of him is that he blessed the cannon some Turkish troops and his own soldiers were about to use in a massacre of Bulgars.

The Greeks in Macedonia despise the Bulgars and regard them as excommunicated schismatics, because they are out of communion with all the other Orthodox Churches and do not acknowledge the authority of the Greek Patriarch. The Greeks are considered loyal to the Turks, and join with them to oppose and oppress the Slavs; "the Slav is the enemy." The Greeks are the aristocrats and live

in the towns, and Bulgars are driven into the country and their peasantry inhabit the villages. The progress of Hellenism in Macedonia is much affected by the language question. There are, to begin with, two kinds of modern Greek, the written and the spoken language; only the educated classes, and not all of them, know the written modern Greek language, and it differs almost as much from the spoken tongue as modern Greek does from ancient, which the written language approaches. All the Balkan races are good linguists, and in the towns the various races will often speak several languages, while in the villages the Greeks have forgotten Greek and speak mostly Bulgarian, and say this is because their fathers had to learn it to speak to their Bulgar servants and serfs. In point of fact, the struggle of Hellenism in Macedonia is much more a religious than a political question. It is the endeavor of the Greek Church to force all the Slav nations into it, and to do this they will join hands with the infidel Turk.

#### MONTENEGRO.

This heroic little nation, partly owing to the geographical position of the country, has enjoyed for at least five hundred years its independence; it has never come under the yoke of Turkey or Austria, nor did it ever submit to Venetian rule. It has been usual to date the independence of the Montenegrins from the fatal battle of Kossovo (1389), when the Serbians were conquered by the Turks and the empire of Old Serbia, with which Montenegro with Bosnia and Herzegovina formed part, was broken up. Some modern historians, however, point out that Montenegro for 700 years before the battle of Kossovo enjoyed a great deal of independence in the district of the Zeta, a rich alluvial country, out of which the modern kingdom was formed. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the title of Vladika<sup>5</sup> was given to the ruler of Montenegro up to 1831; in the Serbian language it meant a Bishop, but a Bishop who united in his person secular and ecclesiastical powers. Vladikas have been compared not inaptly with the Popes in the days when they exercised the temporal power as well as the spiritual, but with this difference: Vladikas were Bishops because they were princes, not like the Pope, who was a sovereign, because he was the Bishop of Rome and the head of the Catholic Church.

The rule of the Vladika until the middle of the nineteenth century was hereditary, and had been so since Danilo, the founder of the present dynasty, made it so, that is for 150 years. This is specially interesting because in the Eastern churches the higher clergy do not marry, and the Montenegrin Church is one of the

<sup>5</sup> "A History of Montenegro," by F. S. Stevenson. 1912.

Orthodox Churches. The close union of Church and State, which is one of the characteristics of the Eastern churches, enabled Danilo Petrovic Njegus in 1711 to make the office of Vladika hereditary in his own family, instead of elective, as it had been previously. He the founder of the present royal family of Montenegro, was elected Vladika in 1697, and under his rule the country emerged from the obscurity of the two previous centuries, and he raised it to the independence it has enjoyed ever since until the present war. In 1702 the Serbs invited him in his capacity of Vladika Bishop to consecrate a church at a place called Podgorica, which was outside Montenegro and under Turkish rule. The Turks granted him a safe conduct and then treacherously seized him and threw him into prison. They condemned him to death and led him to execution bearing the stake on which they proposed to impale him. The Bishop of Herzegovina intervened and saved his life and procured his release. On his return to Montenegro the Montenegrins retaliated by celebrating their Sicilian Vespers. They seized all the Moslem men of whatever nationality in their country and massacred them, sparing the women and children and any men who forsook Islam and embraced Christianity. This took place on Christmas Eve, 1702. Nine years later Danilo got over the ecclesiastical difficulty of Vladikas marrying by making an exception in favor of the Prince Bishop and made his office hereditary. The Montenegrin Church still continued to be intimately connected with the Serbian Patriarch, although not subject to his authority, but the Vladikas had to go to him or to Carlowitz to be consecrated. In 1857 Prince Danilo, father of the present King, secularized the supreme power and made the Metropolitan an ecclesiastical power only, and since then Montenegrin Bishops have been to Russia to be consecrated by the Holy Synod.

The Vladika Peter I., who lived during the French Revolution, and reigned from 1784 to 1830, is regarded as a saint by the people of Montenegro, and he was a great and holy man. He was consecrated Bishop at Carlowitz and reigned during a critical period of Montenegrin history, for the principality was involved to some extent in the Napoleonic wars, and for two years Montenegro and Russia fought side by side with fluctuating fortunes. Peter did much to establish unity among his own people during the last fifteen years of his life by putting down the blood feuds which were a cause of incessant little internal struggles. When he was an old man of eighty-one he was sitting by a great kitchen fire composing some of these quarrels when he felt death approaching, and had himself carried to a hermit's cell with no fire in winter, and lying on his bed there, died a most holy death surrounded by his chiefs.

In 1875 Montenegro joined Serbia in intervening in favor of the Christian peasants who were Serbs in Bosnia, but they were utterly crushed by the Turks, and so were the Bulgars who had joined their Slav brethren. The Turks acted with terrible savagery, and in consequence Russia in 1877 declared war on Turkey, which was concluded by the treaty of San Stephano in 1879. In 1910 the principality of Montenegro was raised to a kingdom under the present King Nicolas I., at present in exile. Nicolas is a poet and the author of patriotic poems and dramas. He led a most simple life as King, and used to administer justice seated under a historic tree. Before his defeat in the present war he had, however, a Council of State and a Ministry, but the judges frequently consulted him by telephone to his palace. Although the office of Vladika is abolished, Nicolas was credited with some of the sanctity with which the office of Prince Bishop was clothed in olden times.

The Montenegrins have one good harbor at Antivari, where steamers can come alongside the quay, but the Black Mountain rises immediately behind and renders railway development very difficult, while at the same time it safeguarded the independence of the country for centuries. Antivari was assigned to Montenegro in 1878, but it is insufficient for their needs, although they have cleverly succeeded in constructing a small mountain railway across the barrier. The place the Montenegrins nave always coveted is Skodra (Scutari), but Skodra is purely an Albanian city, and both these countries need it equally, although the rightful owners are the Albanians. Austria-Hunray is at the bottom of this trouble, as she is of the Balkan difficulty altogether; she has denied Montenegro her lawful outlet to the South Slavonic coast. If the Montenegrins could reach the sea by the Cattaro fiord, Skodra would not be so vital to them if they could have freedom of traffic through it. Albania might be induced to grant this right, if Montenegro would give her a similar privilege in Dulcigno, the port granted to her by Mr. Gladstone. When peace is made and Montenegro is restored to the Montenegrins, freer access to the sea for this brave little nation is one of the problems that will have to be solved, if justice is to be done to a people who have suffered so much in the present European or rather world-wide conflagration.

The Montenegrins have all the charm of the Serbians; they are courteous and well-bred, however lowly their position in life. The peasants live in huts without a chimney, amid choking smoke, which does not appear to affect them. They are fine, handsome men, almost giants, all of them soldiers and most of them decorated with medals. Cettinje, the capital, contains the King's palace, the Bishop's palace and a monastery. There is a wonderful monastery at a place

called Ostrog, which contains the body of St. Vassili and is a great place of pilgrimage. Once a year thousands of pilgrims come to visit the tomb of St. Vassili; they come from all parts of Montenegro, from Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. Catholics as well as Orthodox join this pilgrimage, and Moslems are sometimes found among them. The pilgrims sleep in booths. The monastery is in two parts, an upper and a lower, and stands on a high cliff, with the Bishop's palace and a tiny church adjoining. Mirko, the Prince Bishop, father of the present King, once held the upper monastery for ten days with thirty Montenegrins against 15,000 Turks. Then other Montenegrins came to the rescue and surrounded the Turks and slaughtered them by thousands. The Turks called Mirko the Sword of Montenegro.

According to the legend of St. Vassili, the place where the monasteries now stand was shown to him in a vision. He is believed to have come from the Herzegovina, but the Turks have destroyed all the written records of his life, and very nearly on one occasion secured his body, which is believed to possess miraculous powers, and the lame, the blind, the diseased flock to his shrine to be healed. All classes are represented among the pilgrims, beggars, peasants, warriors, richly dressed women from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even these last may be seen entering the monastery barefoot and all prostrate and kiss the lowest step of the church before entering. All come fasting and on foot and the rich bring presents to the Bishop. The body of the saint lies in a dimly lit chamber, hewn out of the rock.

The sacrament of confession is administered by the Orthodox priests in this chapel in a peculiar fashion. The penitent, if a woman, kneels before the priest, who covers her head with his stole and then reads aloud a prayer from a book to drown the words of her confession. On Sunday the Montenegrin men dance the national dance in a ring round the Bishop, who sits on the top of the steps above them. Then for the feast which follows kids and lambs are roasted whole, and the slopes of Ostrog are covered with booths or tents for St. Vassili's feast. The variety of costumes makes a most brilliant scene; the Montenegrins, who are such splendid-looking men, dressed in their red and gold jackets and blue knee-breeches with a little round blue cap put on at an angle, present a very smart appearance. There is another monastery perched among the mountains at a place called Moraca; it stands on a high cliff with a rapid river at the base and mountains and forests surrounding it. Here, too, the Turks who besieged it were defeated and slaughtered in thousands by a comparatively few Montenegrins. Even in peace time these wild, fierce, but heroic Monte-

negrins are constantly having fights with Turks and marauding Albanians, especially on their borders. There is a Catholic church at Zatrijebah; this is served by Franciscans and attended by Albanians, a clan of whom are under Montenegrin rule. These wild men hear Mass armed to the teeth, with their rifles piled against the walls of the church or hanging on the trees outside, and with the rifles hangs a trumpet to give the alarm in case of need.

At Easter all the chains are removed from the prisoners in the prison at Cettinje for a week, and the King goes to the prison every Easter to examine the sentences on the prisoners, most of whom have killed a foe in a vendetta; some he pardons outright, to some he remits part of their sentence, and others he confirms. These vendettas, which are of such frequent occurrence between the Montenegrins and the Albanians and between one clan of Albanians and another, prove that these two nations are in a lower stage of civilization than the other Balkan races. Before the outbreak of the Great War these two nations had not emerged from the stage of private wars being considered the normal state of life. If Serbia's dream of a great Siberian Empire of the Southern Slav nations is ever realized, these vendettas would cease and Montenegro emerge into a higher state of civilization.

#### BULGARIA.

Although Bulgaria in June, 1913, attacked her allies treacherously and has since ranged herself with the Central Powers against the other Slav nations, nevertheless she has an equal right with them and Greece and Roumania, with the whole Balkan peninsula in fact, to enjoy racial unity and autonomy; therefore in considering the Balkan States we must not omit Bulgaria, enemy though she be to us and our Allies. Nor must we forget that the true enemies to the union of the Balkan States are the Germanic Powers. United like the United States of America, they would form a formidable opponent to any of the European Powers; disunited, they are as they always have been and always will be, the constant cause of trouble and unrest to all Europe. The Balkan League, which originated in Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, was broken up by Germany and Austria-Hungary and the Old Russia had a share in its destruction, but Old Russia is no more. The origin of the Bulgars is a subject on which volumes have been written, and many savants have had as many opinions about it: "Quot homines tot sententiae." The three principal of these theories are: (1) that they are pure Slavs, (2) that they are Uggians or Finns, (3) that they are of Turco-Tartar origin, and the last opinion is the latest pronouncement made by a learned ethnologist on the matter. On one point all are agreed,

that they are a terrible race, and this is no modern opinion. "Bulgares toto orbe terribiles" is based on historic testimony. The reasons for considering them to be Turco-Tartars are historical, ethnological and philological.<sup>6</sup> Long before this war they were often called Huns, like the Hungarians, and in pre-war days they were said to be the Judas of the Slav nations. They originally settled on the banks of the Volga and called themselves Volgamen; their "b" and "v" being interchangeable, we get Bolgar or Bulgar, but all students of etymology do not accept this derivation; another theory is that Bulgar meant "water-people."

We do not propose to enter into their history here. They have been oppressed by the Turks politically for five centuries and ecclesiastically by the Greeks. Those who fled into mountains remained free; those who remained in the plains, which are rich and fertile and inhabited by the Turks, lost their independence and sometimes their faith. In character the Bulgars are not amiable; they have none of the charm of the Serbs; they are slow, plodding, suspicious, reserved, silent, apparently almost insensible to pain, dour, blunt, without any imagination, driving hard bargains, but hard-working, economical, prudent, cunning and above all patient. Patience is the great virtue of the Bulgars, learned from years of serfdom, and industry is their next best quality. They have a parable to this effect: "When God gave men their Kismet all the nations went to Him to ask for it; the first that went were the Turks, and they asked, as did all the other nations, for sovereignty. The Bulgars were the next to go, and they also asked for sovereignty, but God said that was given to the Turks, so He gave the Bulgars Work, to the French He gave Artifice, to the Jews Calculation, to the gypsies Poverty, and last of all came the Greeks, and like all the others asked for sovereignty, and God gave them Intrigue."

There was published some years ago an excellent book called "The Shade of the Balkans,"<sup>7</sup> from which the above parable was taken, and it contains a large collection of Bulgarian proverbs, a few of which we will quote here, as they throw some light on the Bulgarian character, and incidentally on that of their enemies: "The Greek will fail because he boasts; the Bulgar through pig-headedness."<sup>7</sup> "God grant that the Greek does not discover your money, nor the Turk your children." Another proverb which perhaps accounts for the silence of the Bulgar is: "With silence one irritates the devil." Another which suggests their industry and self-helpfulness is: "God will give, but He won't carry home for you." Yet another which quaintly teaches the value of prayer is: "God can be held by ten fingers."

<sup>6</sup> "Nationality and the War;" Arnold Toynbee. 1915.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Bernard, Dr. Dillon and Slaveikoff. 1904.

Nightingales and roses are both plentiful in Bulgaria, and many of their folk-songs, which are frequently love-songs, mention both. One of their proverbs is a very pretty idea: "Only the nightingale can understand the rose." Bulgarian love-songs are very restrained in character and pure in feeling, but when they deal with married love they are full of the unfaithfulness of the wife. "The Shade of the Balkans" contains a beautiful collection of Bulgarian folk-songs which the Bulgarian poet Slaveikoff, called the Lion of Sofia, translated, after he had collected them, into German, and Mr. Bernard translated them into English from the German. A century ago Bulgaria possessed no literature but the Psalms, prayer books and damascenes. The Turks had burned many of their ancient historical manuscripts, many most valuable, but a large number of folk-songs had existed and been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation for at least fifteen centuries—i. e., from which the Bulgars first invaded and settled in the Balkan peninsula. Slaveikoff collected thousands of these, and out of them Mr. Bernard has given us a century. They do not rhyme, but although they are not rhythmical, they vary in structure and are not monotonous, but very charming in their English dress.

One or two wedding customs throw a sidelight on the Bulgarian character. After the wedding the bride goes to live with her husband's parents, and for some weeks after her marriage is supposed to keep silence to show her respect for them. In the west of Bulgaria, when the newly married couple arrive at the house of the bridegroom's father, he meets them with a pair of reins in his hands, which he fastens to their heads, as if they were a pair of horses, and drags them into the house with them. There was a previous edition to Mr. Bernard's of folk-songs, made by two sons of a potter in Macedonia, published through the generosity of Bishop Strossmayer, a Catholic, the Bishop of Djakovo, in Croatia; these were printed in the Bulgarian alphabet, that is the Cyrillic, so accessible to the Bulgarian people. These two brothers for daring to discover some Bulgarian songs in Macedonia were delivered into the hands of the Turks as revolutionaries by the Greeks. The Turks threw them into prison, and there they were poisoned and their corpses thrown out and recovered by a Bulgarian, who was subsequently executed for burying them. Among the old Bulgarian prayer books are to be found some lives of the saints and some legends. Bulgarian saints are very numerous; there are no less than twelve St. Ivans of Rilo, one whose claim to sanctity seems to rest on unusual grounds; he was a shepherd who cut off a Turk's head! Three of their saints are personifications of three of the days of the week, which appears to be a pagan survival. St. Nedela or St. Sunday

is said to be venerated also by the Irish. St. Wednesday figures in some legends and St. Petka is St. Friday. The Bulgarians have a saying that "St. Nedela sleeps on the lap of Holy Petka," meaning that he who feasts on Sunday must also fast on Friday.

The Bulgarian Church, as we have mentioned before, is in schism with all the other Eastern churches, though identical with them in doctrine. The Greek Patriarch has excommunicated them, and the Greeks treat them as heretics and persecute them almost as much as the Turks do. At the present time the Bulgars who are occupying Serbia are treating the Serbs with the greatest cruelty, so that it seems impossible for unity ever to prevail among all these Balkan States again, but it is the impossible which sometimes happens.

#### ROUMANIA.

Roumania is not a Balkan State, neither is she a Slav nation, but as she forms the northeastern part of the Balkan peninsula and lies between Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary and is one of the vanquished nations in this great war, some mention must be made of her here. She consists of three provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia and the Dobrudja, which last was added to her by the Treaty of Berlin. She is a Latin nation. Roumania was a Roman province as long ago as the time of Trajan; her language is one of the six Latin or romance languages, although a good many foreign words, especially Slavonian and French and Hungarian, have been incorporated in it. The Roumanian Church is one of the sixteen Orthodox churches, but the Roumanians are not a religious nation. The peasants, it is true, fast very strictly, but the upper classes lead a very gay, worldly life, or did before the war, so much so that Bucharest, the capital, used to be called the City of Joy. In character the Roumanians are the very reverse of the Bulgars, their neighbors; they are gay, frivolous, pleasure-loving, fashionable, very tolerant except towards the Jews, whom they hate passionately, possessing all the charm of the French, but not the other admirable qualities of that most noble nation. What sobering influence the fiery furnace through which this unhappy nation is now passing will have on Roumanian character is one of the "after the war" problems time only can solve. There are two Catholic Bishops in Roumania, most of the people being Orthodox, but there is a large Jewish population and also a great number of gypsies. Nearly half the Roumanians live in Transylvania, the Bukovina and Macedonia, but a very strong national feeling has grown up in Roumania, and another after the war problem is how her claims to her Austrian "Irredenta" are to be satisfied. The Roumanians are the strongest non-Magyar nation in Hungary, and they are concentrated near

their own country; if Roumania were permitted to incorporate this district of Transylvania in Roumania proper, the gain to her power would be very great, but at the time of writing this seems a vain dream. But the lightning changes of the times we live in are so quick no one can tell what the next move on the European chess-board may be.

## BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

Bosnia is one of the most beautiful countries in Europe, not excepting Switzerland; its mountains and hills, its woods and forests, its rapid rivers, its glorious waterfalls, its rich pastures all combine to make the lovely scenery in which the towns with their pointed gable-roofed houses are most picturesquely situated. It is mostly a pastoral country, though there are mining districts. It was first peopled in the seventh century by Slavs; from the time of the rise of the old Serbian empire it was incorporated in it until the disastrous battle of Kossovo (1389), when the Turks being victorious and the Serbian empire broken up, the Bosnian Serbs came under the Ottoman rule, and remained there throughout the struggles between the Hapsburgs and the Turks, from 1527 until 1878, when the Berlin congress gave Austria-Hungary leave to occupy the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Sanjat Novi Bazar, until 1908, when the Austrian Minister, Aerenthal, annexed the Occupied Provinces, as they were called, to Austria-Hungary, thus striking a fatal blow at Serbian hopes of national independence, at which Bulgaria connived and Russia supported Serbia, though not then in a position to defend her actively.

In the twelfth century an offshoot of the Armenian sect called the Paulician heresy penetrated into Bosnia, and most of the Bosnian nobles embraced it and were called Bogumils. They adhered to it through three centuries, although subjected to much persecution from their neighbors, the Croats and Slovenes, who have always loyally adhered to the Catholic Church. The Bogumils appear to have had something in common with the Moslems; at any rate, when Bosnia came under Turkish rule many of the Paulicians embraced Islam from political motives and from that time enjoyed prosperity and political freedom under Turkish rule. About one-third of the population now are Moslems; the rest are either Catholics or Orthodox, the proportion of each and of Moslems varying in the different towns. The Catholics are called Croats, the Orthodox Serbs, and the dress of the women varies so you can tell at a glance to which Church they belong, while the Moslem women are not only veiled, but masked also. The Catholic women both in Bosnia and Herzegovina wear white dresses and long white veils at Mass, and

under the veils white caps trimmed with gold or silver coins and a great many gold and silver ornaments. The costumes of both men and women are most picturesque, for the people have all the Serbian artistic temperament. Both men and women wear flowers at Mass on Sundays and feast days. Sarajevo is the centre of Catholicism in Bosnia; there is a Bishop of Sarajevo, and since the Austrian occupation a beautiful Catholic cathedral. The Franciscans, who were the first religious order to be established in Bosnia, have a monastery here, and there is also a large Jesuit college, to which a good many Jews are admitted as students. Although Sarajevo is the seat of a Catholic Bishop, one of the most celebrated and finest mosques in the world is in this city, the capital of Bosnia. The old Serbian, that is Orthodox, church here is hidden behind a high wall and sunk below the level of the street, as under Turkish rule no Christian church was allowed to show even its roof. On Easter Monday there is held in the courtyard of this old Serbian church what is called the "marriage market," when all the Orthodox Christian girls, dressed in their best beautiful costumes and wearing all their gold and silver ornaments and coins, parade up and down the yard with the youths of Sarajevo. This is a very old custom still kept up; it originated because the Turks would only allow the girls to possess as much jewelry as they could carry on their persons, and this is their dowry.

The East and West meet in Bosnia, and many Moslem customs have been introduced into the Christian churches; for instance, the Christian peasants take a little prayer-carpet, such as the Moslems use, into church with them to kneel upon, and sit on the ground at certain parts of the Mass in Eastern fashion, and prostrate on the ground at the Elevation and hold up their hands, palms turned upwards, at the blessing, which is an attitude adopted in prayer by Mohammedans. There is a famous Trappist monastery at Banja-Luka (the Baths of St. Luke), which was established under Turkish rule, when the monks were expelled from France and afterwards from Germany. There are between two and three hundred monks who are excellent farmers and make cheese celebrated all over Bosnia, and a light ale; they also have an orphanage for Bosnian children.

The Franciscans have several convents in various parts. The oldest is at Sutjeska and was founded in the fourteenth century; the church remains still, but all the rest was destroyed in 1658 by the Bogumils who had turned Moslems, but it has since been rebuilt. For sixteen years it was deserted, and the monks hid in caves and in the mountains, but were always to be found when wanted by Catholics. This church was the first in Bosnia to pos-

sess a belfry and permitted to ring a bell, for nothing irritates the Turk so much as church bells.

There is another Franciscan monastery at Fojnika. The Franciscans in Bosnia have good libraries containing many valuable books and rare manuscripts. The Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the Croats, that is the Catholics, enjoy much more liberty under Austrian rule, and the Austrians have developed the country and made many railways and excellent roads, but none of the roads lead to Serbia, while the railways were constructed to facilitate the Eastward trend of the Central Powers. Bosnia and Herzegovina are the Alsace-Lorraine of the Balkans, and should be restored to Serbia when peace is made.

#### CROATIA-SLOVENIA.

These two Southern Slav provinces now belong to Austria-Hungary, to which they are subject, although in all internal, religious and educational and judicial matters they enjoy autonomy. They are united into one kingdom, ruled by a Ban chosen by the Emperor of Austria. The Hungarians only form a bare majority of the population of Hungary itself; that is, they number about 8,600,000, while the other nations number little over 8,000,000; of these 1,991,000 are Slovenes, 189,000 are Croats.

The Croats, although they are Catholics, have been abominably treated by the Magyars, while the Slovenes on the other hand seem to have nothing to complain of so far as their treatment goes, but their nobility are Germans, which probably accounts for this. Of the population of Croatia-Slovenia, 72 per cent. of the population are Catholics. Agram is the capital and is the see of a Catholic Bishop and possesses a university; it is in Croatia, while Laibach is the chief town of Slovenia. Education is slowly advancing, but the Slovenes have never developed a literature of their own: they speak a dialect quite distinct from the Southern Slav. The Croats are ethnologically Serb, and speak the Serbian language. The system of family communities with a gospodar at the head prevails among them. Since the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina a strong national feeling has sprung up among both Croats and Slovenes.

The Balkan States have two great needs—the first is capital, the second is education, and the United States of America have contributed largely to supplying both these wants. Capital, as an anonymous diplomatist tells us, was needed not only for large enterprises, but also for smaller objects, such as farms, schools and shops. American money has supplied many of these needs. Again, the Macedonians have been enabled to release themselves from bondage to Moslem usurers by emigrating to America, where they quickly

earn sufficient money to save and send home and pay off mortgages and debts.

Emigration to America is in itself an' education to any of the Balkan peasants; there they come in contact with a very high civilization and return enlightened and Westernized, for we must not forget that the bottom of all the trouble in the Balkans is the struggle between Eastern and Western civilization. The tendency of all the Balkan nations now is to become Westernized, and in proportion as this tendency exists will peace become established among them. It is the Turk who is the real enemy to Balkan peace, the Turk and his present Allies.

The United States by the establishment of Robert College in Constantinople has been of the greatest help in promoting the higher education of the Balkan people, particularly of those highly intellectual nations, the Armenians and the Greeks. The diplomatist above quoted says in this connection: "The United States has for a quarter of a century been educating the Balkans from the top downwards, through Robert College. There is probably no educational foundation in the world which has rendered such special services to contemporary progress, or which has kept so closely in touch with the crisis of European politics as this American institution."

By some irony of fate there is, he tells us, writing at the beginning of the present war, scarcely a Bulgar politician who did not receive his education there. Bulgaria, it must be confessed, is the most progressive of all the Balkan nations, and after the Second Balkan War, or the War of Partition, as it is sometimes called, enlisted the sympathies of many of the European powers, which her subsequent conduct in joining the Central Powers and Turkey has alienated.

The above brief summary of the condition of the various countries in the Balkan peninsula, exclusive of Greece, whose circumstances are too well known to require recapitulation, shows a few of the chief factors in the strife. The modern tendency towards the of the war.

The eternal struggle of East against West is, as we have seen, one of the chief actors in the strife. The modern tendency towards the assertion of nationality, and the desire for freedom and independence among the smaller nations, are both very strong, and the difficulties in the way of realizing these hopes very great, involving as they do so many interests, both religious and political, which clash with one another. It seems to the onlooker an impossible task to find a settlement which will do justice to all and satisfy all legitimate aspirations, but as "in the multitude of counsellors there is

wisdom," we must hope that when these counsellors meet to settle the peace terms a wise solution may be found.

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## IN THE LAND OF THE TROUBADOUR.

**A**PILGRIMAGE to Provence, the Provincia Romana of the Romans, gives splendid returns. It is a land dowered with historic monuments, ancient and mediæval, full of the breath of song, gay and charming in its life and customs, full of beauty, full of moral sweetness and bearing on its forehead everywhere the chrism of faith. Here the arm of the Cæsars once extended and has perpetuated Roman genius in aqueduct, bridge, theatre, triumphal arch and arena, bearing witness to the practical character of a people who carried their subjugation into Spain, Germany, England, France and the far East. A wonderful empire indeed was the Roman Empire, and to-day when you visit Nimes, Arles, Carcassone, Orange and Aix, in Provence, you realize how large and all-embracing was the Roman mind and how widely it differed from that of the Greek.

Perhaps no other part of France has undergone such vicissitudes of fortune as Provence. It has been the theatre of more peoples and changes of government and rule than any other portion of that Gaul once conquered by the arms of Cæsar. Phœnician, Greek, Celt, Roman, Visigoth and Saracen have all in turn occupied some part of it and left traces of their civilization and culture in its soil and life. It is of deep interest to the student of archæology, ethnology, art, literature and government and holds in its keeping a charm for poet, painter and traveler.

Provence of to-day lies between the Atlantic on the west and the Pyrenees and Mediterranean on the south and the Alps on the east and is bounded on the north by a line proceeding from the Gironde to the Alps and passing through the departments of Gironde, Dordogne, Haute-Vienne, Creuse, Allier, Loire, Rhone, Isère and Savoy.

History has been made in its councils and capitals and life has flown in dramatic and lyric currents where its peoples have lived and labored and fashioned society and government according to fixed plans and ideals. There is, however, little to-day to witness in monument or memory to its once occupancy by Phœnician, Greek or Saracen. Its ancient remains are unquestionably Roman in physiognomy.

Yet you meet among its people, notably at Arles, faces as clearly Greek in type as those seen in Corinth or Athens. Yea, even the Celtic type appears here and there to have survived and occasionally the soft, languid and voluptuous eye of that race whose banner went down at Granada before the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain in 1492 greets you.

Provence is indeed a land overflowing with tears and laughter,

where the olive and the vine in the midst of roses and hawthorns seem to consecrate and hold in their keeping memories of the bygone days of chivalry. And what a glory rests in the Provençal skies, soft and dreamful! There indeed there is a touch of infinitude in the setting sun that magnifies the splendor of the landscape: that sun—"the only liar in the Midi," which not only magnifies, but transfigures everything and makes it greater than nature, touches and caresses the heart of Provence with all the tenderness of a true mother.

It is strange but true that the greatest and most ancient city of Provence, Marseilles, the Massalia of the Greeks and the Massilia of the Romans, contains but little of the remains of its ancient civilization. What you do inhale in modern Marseilles is the breath and *aura* of the Orient. There is, however, little witness to the Phœnician and Celt, the Greek and the Roman who once fashioned the dramas of its life when Rome was mistress of the world and Carthaginian triremes sought supremacy of commerce on the waters of the blue Mediterranean.

In the wars between Carthage and Rome, Marseilles, then a Greek colony, aided Rome, but in the civil strife between Pompey and Cæsar this ancient mistress city of the Mediterranean sided with Pompey. In the early centuries of the Christian era the schools of Marseilles became quite famous, and to these Greek schools we owe several editions of Homer. Christianity was introduced A. D. 111 by St. Victor. The city was ravaged in succession by Visigoths and Saracens, and finally it lost its independence and became a part of the kingdom of Arlés.

During the Crusades Marseilles flourished and its commerce extended in every direction. It was a port of departure for the soldiers of the Cross. In these gala days of commerce between the Orient and the Occident the three great rival cities of Marseilles were Pisa, Genoa and Venice.

In 1481 Marseilles was annexed to France. In the war of religions Marseilles stood firmly by the Catholic Church and refused at first to acknowledge Henry IV. as King. In the French Revolution of 1789 Marseilles strongly espoused the cause of the Revolution, and the stirring lines composed by Rouget de Lisle, sung for the first time by a regiment of soldiers from Marseilles, gave the title of "Marseillaise" to that greatest of French patriotic songs.

Marseilles has been the birthplace of many eminent men, amongst others Thiers and Puget. It has colleges of science, medicine and law, which form part of the University of Aix-Marseilles. The Cathedral of Marseilles, built in the Neo-Byzantine style, is a most imposing structure and cost about eleven million dollars.

Hard by Marseilles is the old city of Aix, founded by the Romans B. C. 123. This was the Aquæ Sextiæ of Roman days. In the fourth century it became the capital of Narbonenses Secunda, and later on, in the fifth and eighth centuries, it was occupied by the Visigoths and Saracens. In the twelfth century, under the houses of Aragon and Anjou, Aix became a great artistic centre and seat of learning. Nor has it in our day entirely lost this prominence. Aix is still the seat of the college of arts of the Aix-Marseilles University and its library has the richest and fullest collection of works and manuscripts dealing with the Provençal language and literature to be found in Provence. A fine statue of Mirabeau, who was Deputy for Aix, stands in the court of the Hotel de Ville.

Indeed, the glory of Provence rests in its mediævalism. From the moment one enters Provence or the Midi, if you will, one is face to face at every step with a wealth of monuments, with a wealth of classical remains across which the finger of history has written through the centuries. These indeed fill the mind with wonder and admiration. Here you find, as in Arles, for example, monuments that testify to the very beginnings of Christianity in France. Constantine fixed his residence at Arles and the old palace in which he lived is still to be seen. St. Trophimus became first Bishop of Arles sometime in the first century, although Gregory of Tours places the episcopacy of Arles as late as A. D. 250. In the fifth century Arles became the primatial See of Gaul. The first council of the Western Church was summoned here by Constantine in 314 for the purpose of dealing with the Donatist heresy. Two other councils of the Church were held at Arles—one in 353 and the other in 1234. The latter dealt with the Albigenses. Arles, however, reveals its early origin—that is the Græco-Gaulish beginnings—more than any other city in Provence. Notwithstanding that it called itself *Gallula Roma Arelas* and flattered itself that it was like its new parent on the Tiber, with its forum and temples, triumphal arches and circus, it could not break away from or conceal its Keltic and Greek origin. Indeed, the very name Arles *Ar-lath*, which means “moist habitation,” is of Keltic signification. The people of Arles pride themselves on their purity of racial descent, and the Arlesian women have been recognized for centuries as the most beautiful women in Europe. Racine and Daudet and Mistral have each paid tribute to the beauty and charm of Arlesian women. To me this beauty seems to flow from a union of the Celt, the Saracen and the Greek. Then, too, there is something to be credited to the fact that the women know that they are handsome, and every Arlesian woman, like the goddess in Virgil, walks a queen.

It is strange yet true that while the men of Arles are clumsy and

small, the women have preserved all their ancestral delicacy and reveal a sort of Attic grace transmitted to them from their mothers. Their costume, which is most becoming, consists of a black skirt, white muslin or tarlatan fichu and a picturesque white cap with a band of embossed white velvet around it, which hangs gracefully at one side. Arles possesses the finest Romanesque church in Provence, the Cathedral of St. Trophimus. By the way, it is worth noting that the Romanesque is the *patois* of the classic architecture with a history singularly analogous to that of the language, developing finally into the eloquent Gothic of our great cathedrals. Of the porch of St. Trophimus the engaged pillars are classic as to their capitals and Romanesque in the half barbaric carving of their bases. The figures in the niches formed by the pillars are Roman in general type, yet with a touch of Byzantine which may be described as the architectural romance dialect of the East.

In 1651 in clearing out the orchestra of the ancient theatre at Arles the Venus of Arles, one of the most admirable works of Greek sculpture, was discovered. It is a reproduction of the celebrated Venus of Praxiteles, now lost. The head and body are almost intact, only the arms being gone. This masterpiece is now in the Louvre at Paris. Lying well to the southwest of Provence is the ancient city of Nimes, with a population of some eighty thousand, which gives it rank after Marseilles of being the second largest Provençal city. This is preëminently a city of Roman monuments and remains. Indeed, nowhere, not even in Italy, is Roman art and architecture better represented than in Nimes. The amphitheatre, capable of seating twenty-four thousand people, is wonderfully well preserved. Then there is the Temple of Diana, the *Pont du Gard* and the *Maison Carrée*. The latter is built in the style of the Parthenon at Athens, with Corinthian columns, and is undoubtedly the finest monument of the period of Roman occupation in France, and according to an inscription, it was dedicated to Caius and Lucius Cæsar, adopted sons of Augustus Cæsar, and dates from the beginning of the Christian era. The Cathedral of St. Castor, occupying the site of the temple of Augustus, is partly Romanesque and partly Gothic. It was in Nimes that Alphonse Daudet, the eminent French novelist, was born in 1840, and a monument has been erected in the city to his memory. Still further to the southwest of Nimes lie Montpellier, Carcassone and Narbonne. Montpellier has been for centuries an educational centre of Southern France. Its great medical school dates from 1140 and its law school dates from 1180. After Bologna, Paris and Oxford, Montpellier University is the oldest in Europe, being founded earlier than Salamanca, in Spain; Heidelberg, in Germany; Upsala, in Sweden, and Louvain, in Bel-

gium. Here it was that the Italian poet Petrarch attended school and here it was, too, that Rabelais was once a professor.

Carcassone is the old "*Carcassona*" of the Middle Ages. Arriving in this quaint old city is like stepping bodily into the Middle Ages. A double line of earthy brown walls, three barbicans and forty-eight strong towers, each bearing a name of its own, a moat without, a mighty castle within—this was the "*Carcassona*" of the Middle Ages, and this with little change is the Carcassone of to-day. In visiting this old mediaeval city, stowed away in a corner of France, one is reminded of the poet Nadau's pathetic lines beginning with "*Je me fais vieux j'ai soixants ans*":

"You see the city from the hill,  
It lies beyond the mountain blue;  
And yet to reach it one must still  
Five long and weary leagues pursue,  
And to return as many more.  
Had but the vintage plenteous grown—  
But, ah, the grape withheld its store;  
I shall not look on Carcassone!"

Narbonne is situated thirty-seven miles east of Carcassone and five miles from the Mediterranean. Here the first Roman colony in Gaul was established and in due time it became a rival of Marseilles. In the days of the Roman Empire the Roman fleet was stationed at Narbonne. One of its chief buildings is a Gothic palace. What a wealth of associations, what a wealth of *memorabilia* linger and cluster around St. Remy, Les Baux, Carpentras, Orange and Vaucluse! How the mind at once reverts to that incomparable French humorist, Alphonse Daudet, as Tarascon looms in view. It is claimed by some that Daudet is but an imitator of Dickens, and that had Dickens never lived, there would have been no Daudet. This is not fair to Daudet nor to the genius with which he was dowered. Alphonse Daudet is indeed a true child of the *Midi*. Born under its capricious and caressing sun, his genius blossomed in the warm soil of Provence. Only a Provençal could have written "*Tartarm de Tarascon*" and "*Lettres de Mon Moulin*." These are racy of the Provençal soil, absolutely indigenous and full of the breath and color and spirit of the *Midi*.

Daudet was an intimate friend of Edmond de Goncourt, Flaubert and Zola, and so belongs essentially to the naturalist school of fiction; but as Pellisier in his "Literary Movement in France During the Nineteenth Century" tells us, while Daudet is of the same school as Zola, he is not of the same family. This is the way Pellisier distinguishes Daudet as a literary artist from Zola: "Daudet is spon-

taneously optimistical and in this is he distinguished from all the novelists of the contemporary school. There are characters quite as depraved as those of Flaubert and Zola to be found in his works, but we feel by the manner in which he presents them that he despises their bestiality. Now the pessimist who considers bestiality the basis of man's nature is not accessible to indignation."

Daudet's Tarascon is situated opposite to Beaucaire, across the Rhone, each with its castle and, as a writer tells us, "Beaucaire, a grand pile on a crag, Tarascon dipping its feet in the water and sulkily showing to its enemy a plain face, reserving all its picturesqueness for its side toward the town." It is said that Louis IX. of France heard Mass in the old Romanesque chapel of Beaucaire before embarking at Aisnes Mortes, the old port of the Mediterranean, for the crusade to Egypt. The pretty old Provençal poem of Ancassin and Nicolette, which Andrew Lang has translated into English, has its scene laid at Beaucaire.

An interesting old Provençal town, originally a Greek colony founded from Marseilles, is Carpentras. It is one of the most poetic of places and reaches very far back in ancient days. Pliny, the Roman historian, knew of it. By the way, it is worth noting that Pliny the younger, the poet Virgil, the historian Livy the Great, Catullus and Cornelius Nepos the elder were born in Cis-Alpine Gaul and were consequently Celtic in origin. Carpentras was the residence of Pope Clement V. when he was in "Babylonian Captivity," before Avignon was chosen, and it was here that the Cardinals met in 1313 to choose his successor.

North of Avignon, some twenty or twenty-five miles, is the old Roman town of Orange with its *theatre antique* and triumphal arch. This old Roman theatre, the best preserved in Europe, was built during the first century of the Christian era and was capable of seating seven thousand people. It has been enlarged in our day and can now hold ten thousand. The theatre formerly had seventeen entrances and the original stage was one hundred and eighty-three feet in breadth. Every summer some distinguished dramatic company from Paris plays in this old Roman theatre and cheap railroad excursions enable the people from all over Provence to see French dramatic masterpieces interpreted by the greatest actors and actresses in France. Sarah Bernhardt has appeared here in "Phedre," Mounet-Sully in "Œdipus-Rex," and in the summer of 1904 in company with a hundred students and several professors from the University of Grenoble the writer saw Coquelin ainé at the *theatre antique* in Racine's "Britannicus" and a comedy of Moliere.

A few miles from where the Durance joins the Rhone, on the left bank of the latter, stands the ancient city of Avignon, a place

of much importance in the *Gallia Narbonensis* of Roman days. It is of Celtic origin, though the colony proper owes its foundation to the Procascans who came there from Marseilles. Avignon was held in turn by Goths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians and the Frankish Kings of Austrasia. The Saracens seized it, but were driven out by Charles Martel in A. D. 736. Then Conrad II. obtained possession of it, and it became a part of the Empire, then a Republic, and finally, through Charles the Fair, it became the possession of the Count of Provence, who was King of Naples and Sicily In 1348, Joan, Countess of Provence, sold it to Pope Clement VI. for 80,000 florins, and finally, in 1791, Avignon became a part of the French realm. Avignon is a city replete with mediæval interest—full of historical and literary associations. Aside from the fact that it was the residence of nine Popes during the "Babylonian Captivity," from 1309 to 1377, this quaint and ramparted city holds in its keeping much to interest the student of art, archaeology and letters. Of course when political and factional turmoil obliged Pope Clement V. to leave Rome and seek an asylum at Avignon it greatly added to the life of the latter city. Italian bankers followed the Papal Court and trade flowed in to Avignon from the great centres of Europe, from Bruges and Pisa and distant Brittany.

In 1303 Pope Boniface VIII. established a university at Avignon, and soon it became a centre of learning, especially during the Papal occupation. We read a great deal about the revival of learning and the spread of humanism, with which movement is inseparably linked the great name of Petrarch. Yet it was the patronage of the Papal Court of Avignon, the very sunshine and favor of the Popes, that nurtured, aided and made possible the splendid genius of Petrarch and even stimulated the study of Greek in the Papal hope and desire of bringing about a union of the Greek and Latin Churches. In fact relations of friendship bound together the men of letters of Avignon and Constantinople in such manner that there was often an exchange of manuscripts between the East and the West. One thing is quite certain, that it was the relation of the Papal Court to the Greek Church at Constantinople and the religious controversies that took place during the fourteenth century between Avignon and Constantinople that gave an impetus to the study of the Greek Fathers, a large number of whose works were in the Papal Library at Avignon.

The history of mediæval libraries, too, attests to the fact that in the number and quality of volumes the Apostolic Library at Avignon was second only to the ancient libraries of the Sorbonne and Canterbury. But what monuments, you will ask, remain to-day to witness to the Papal occupation of Avignon? The Palace of the Popes,

perhaps the largest civic Gothic structure in the world, still stands fronting the severe tower of Villeneuve, on the opposite side of the Rhone, and the old Romanesque Cathedral which, however, was built more than a century before the Popes occupied Avignon. It is worth noting that nearly all the fresco in both the Palace of the Popes and the Cathedral is the work of Sienese artists. The mausoleum of Pope John XXII. in the Cathedral is a splendid example of fourteenth century sculpture.

The names of many men eminent in science and letters are associated with Avignon. Here it was that the Provençal poet, Aubanel, was born and John Stuart Mill, the English economist, died in Avignon and is buried here. But perhaps the most eminent name in letters connected with Avignon is that of the great Italian poet and humanist, Petrarch. Born in 1304 in Arezzo, Italy, his father brought young Petrarch here in 1313. Like Dante, the elder Petrarch was driven out of Florence, and after wandering about for some years chose Avignon for his residence. Young Petrarch was sent to the Universities of Montpellier and Bologna by his father with the view of studying law, but Virgil and Cicero and Ovid claimed his heart and votive offerings, and when his father died in 1326 young Petrarch turned entirely to the pursuit of letters. He remained in Avignon for more than twenty years, browsing in the Pontifical Library and advancing in his humanistic studies through the grace and favor of the Papal Court.

One of the great events in the life of Petrarch was his meeting with Laura in the Franciscan Church of St. Clara in Avignon on Good Friday, April 6, 1327. To this event we certainly owe his "Canzoniere," perhaps the noblest sheaf of sonnets ever devoted to the subject of love. There are those who doubt the existence of Laura as they doubt the existence of Beatrice, but there is evidence conclusive that both Laura and Beatrice were creatures of flesh and blood and capable of evoking the passion of love in both Petrarch and Dante. But in the world of letters Dante and Petrarch fill a different place. Both are the glory of Italy and the supreme flowering of Catholic mediæval life and faith. But Dante belongs essentially to the "age of faith"—to the world of the allegorical and mystical—while Petrarch's mind is swayed by mundane things, by humanity and by reason. In the one there is submission to the divine will, in the other conflict between the spirit and the flesh. The poet of the "Divine Comedy" wandered from city to city wearing on his brow the thorny crown of an exile; the poet of the "Sonnets" visited Paris, Lieges, Bruges, Ghent, Venice, Verona and Rome, not to eat the "salty bread" of

a stranger, but to share in the feasts of friends and be crowned with a poet's laurel.

Petrarch left Avignon in 1333, and after wandering through France, Belgium, Germany and Italy, finally fixed his abode at Vaucluse, a picturesque spot about twenty miles from Avignon, where the noisy and limpid little Sorgue issues from the fountain of Vaucluse, Petrarch's *chiare fresche et dolci aquae*, across which it is related Robert Browning carried in his arms his newly wedded, invalid wife, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, when on their way to Florence, Italy. In this quiet and secluded vale, where nature whispered to his soul, almost under the very shadow of the neighboring mountain, old Ventoux, which he one day ascended, with a copy of St. Augustine in his hand, Petrarch dreamt and fashioned in his soul the creative works which give him preëminence not alone among the poets of Italy, but among the inspired singers of the world.

It is rather strange that Petrarch should have set such store and value upon his Latin epic, "Africa," which is scarcely ever read to-day. He imagined this, not the "Canzoniere" or "Trionfi," would bring him immortal fame.

Laura, "the lady of the Sonnets," died during the pestilence in Avignon in 1348, which fact Petrarch noted marginally in a copy of Virgil that may be still seen. Like Beatrice, Laura had married another. Though she had inspired courtly love in Petrarch, she never saw in him but the poet crowned with laurels without roses. Laura was buried in the Church of the Cordeliers, in Avignon, where her tomb was found and opened in 1533. In 1350 Petrarch visited Florence and met for the first time his greatest literary contemporary and most sympathetic friend, Giovanni Boccaccio. It was through Boccaccio that the Seigniory of Florence offered Petrarch the rectorship of the newly established university at Florence, which Petrarch, however, declined.

Petrarch prevailed upon his friend Boccaccio to publish in Latin the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." It was Leontius Pilatus who took charge of this work a little time after, and thus began the great work of translating Greek authors, which Pope Nicholas V. was later to bring to so successful an end.

The last twenty years of his life Petrarch spent in Italy, his native land. But like Voltaire and Erasmus, Petrarch was truly a citizen of the world. Perhaps the Latin authors that influenced him most were Cicero and Virgil, and in his search for Latin manuscripts he found that of Cicero's Letters at Verona and a manuscript of two of Cicero's orations at Liege. Some critics of to-day have placed Dante and Petrarch among the skeptics of

the Italian Renaissance. This is unscholarly—nay, absurd. Both in their faith were uncompromising Catholics. The fact that Dante was a Ghibelline and lauded the Holy Roman Empire did not make him a skeptic, nor did Petrarch's love of Cicero and contempt for Aristotle touch in any way the fulness and integrity of his faith. Referring to this matter, James Harvey Robinson in his admirable life of Petrarch says: "Petrarch was much too ardent and sincere a Catholic to allow Brutus and Cato to crowd out St. Peter and St. Paul." Furthermore, Petrarch never took holy orders as a priest, as the "Encyclopedia Britannica" states, having simply received one of the minor orders, that he might be enabled to hold a Church benefice.

In his "De Contemplu Mundi" Petrarch pours out his soul to St. Augustine as he would to a very father confessor. Those who think that the poet of the "Sonnets" was a skeptic should read his letters to his younger brother, Gherardo, who became a Carthusian monk. It is true that, like all men of the Renaissance period, Petrarch was intense in his character. He hated with a Renaissance fervor, and he was not free from the jealousy and vainglory which belonged especially to the spirit of his times. After having lived sixteen years at Parma and Padua, in Italy, Petrarch retired to Argnà, a quiet little village among the Euganean hills, where the tomb of the "Father of Humanism" and the poet of the "Sonnets" may be seen to-day. His death occurred in 1374. There belongs to Provence a movement which has had a far-reaching influence upon poetry and its development in many lands, especially that form of poetry known as the lyric. I mean the rise of the Troubadours. Indeed, Provence is known as "The Land of the Troubadour." This movement grew out of the chivalry of the Middle Ages. Linked together and coëval are these three: The Crusades, Chivalry and the Troubadours. It was Christian Europe stirred into passion by the warm breath of the Orient. No more glorious years ever hung over the skies of Europe portending a great dawn in things of faith and art than when armed Europe threw itself upon Asia—when the anointed sword of the Crusader pierced the tents of Saladin, when the soldiers of the Cross brought back to the altars and shrines of European civilization something of the perfume and incense of the East—something of that finer Oriental chivalry which when touched by Christian faith and the *cultus* of the *Madonna* gave us the exquisite flowers of Christian chivalry and the strong knighthood of heroic passion and deed.

But this great art-poetry of the Troubadour was cultivated far beyond Provence. It was nurtured, too, in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon and amid the flourishing city States of Italy. Among

the most celebrated of its patrons were Alphonsus the Second of Aragon, Raymond the Fifth, Count of Toulouse; Richard Cœur de Lion of England, and Eleanor, wife of Louis the Eighth of France, afterwards Queen of England.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries marked the full ripening of Provençal poetry and the strong reign of the Troubadours. Of course, the central point of all Provençal literature in the Middle Ages, as has been already indicated, is the lyric, and the central point of the lyric is love. As a writer tells us, among the Troubadours in the general cultus of woman love was reduced to the position of a fine art. The lyric, too, belongs essentially to the age of chivalry, and the poets were generally knights. Even kings and princes were proud to take their places in the ranks of the Troubadours. The court was naturally the *milieu* in which the singers preferred to exercise their art. It is true that Provençal literature presents us with no grand figure like Dante, Homer or Shakespeare. Indeed, Troubadour poetry has left no lineal descendant, perhaps, as a writer tells us, in order that all our modern literature may look to it as a parent. Now what was the character of a Troubadour? He certainly was versatile. Justin H. Smith in his exhaustive work, "The Troubadour at Home," says: "The Troubadour was a chevalier with a nightingale in his casque. Allied with him was the joglar, an ancestor of our juggler, who assumed the various roles of a vaudeville performer."

Perhaps, however, we can get a better estimate of the Troubadour from his own avowal of his varied gifts. "I can play," says the minstrel in the Bodleian manuscript at Oxford, "the lute, the violin, the pipe, the bagpipe, the syrinx, the harp, the gigue, the gittern, the symphony, the psaltery, the organstrum, the regals, the tabor and the rote. I can sing a song well and make tales and fables. I can tell a story against any man. I can make love verses to please young ladies and can play the gallant for them if necessary. Then I can throw knives into the air and catch them without cutting my fingers. I can do dodges with a string most extraordinary and amusing. I can balance chairs and make tables dance. I can throw a somersault and walk on my head."

Then there were Courts of Love which laid down rules for love. They allowed married women to receive the homage of lovers, and even nicely directed all the symptoms they were to exhibit. But while love was treated very fancifully, it was also treated very seriously. Andrè in his book, "The Laws of Love," cites thirty-one laws which governed the art of love among the Troubadours. Here are the first six: "1. Marriage cannot be pleaded as an excuse for refusing to love. 2. A person who cannot keep a secret can

never be a lover. 3. No one can really love two people at the same time. 4. It is not becoming to love those ladies who only love with a view to marriage. 5. A person who is the prey of love eats little and sleeps little. 6. Love can deny nothing to love."

As to the Langue d'oc, in the twelfth century we are told by John Rutherford in his work, "The Troubadours," that it extended from the Po to the Ebro and from the Mediterranean to the basins of the Loire and of the higher Rhone. The principal dialects spoken over this stretch of country—that is, the Piedmontese, the Provençal, the Gascon and the Catalan—were mutually intelligible. They were used indifferently by the Troubadours and often in the same song.

Provençal poetry was divided into four kinds: The Cansos, which was used to impress the devotion of a Knight or Troubadour for his lady; the Serventes, which composed in the service of some patron extolled his merits; the Planh, which was usually a lament for the death of a patron, and the Tensos, which took the form of a discussion in dialogue of some question of love, morals, religion or chivalry. Almost coëval with the reign of the Troubadours in Provence and the rich and varied flowering of Provençal song was the appearance and extension of the Albigensian heresy. But in truth this strange religious sect was not a Christian heresy, but rather an extra Christian religion. It was a kind of Neo-Manicheanism. Its dissemination became rapid, especially in Languedoc, and this was largely owing to the relaxed state of ecclesiastical discipline, the wealth and luxury of the citizens and the licentious theories embodied in the poetry of the Troubadours. Add to this the fact that in Southern France there was a strong Jewish and Mahometan element.

It is a well-known fact that many of the abbots were placed at the head of monasteries through the influence of noblemen, and so great abuses and corruptions crept in among the clergy, as was the case in Germany when Pope "Hildebrand" undertook the reform of the clergy in that country. The Rev. Baring Gould, an Anglican clergyman, in his "In Troubadour Land" when referring to the Albigensians, writes: "The Albigensians are often erroneously confused with the Waldenses, with whom really they had little in common. Actually the Albigenses were not Christians at all, but Manicheans. The heresy was nothing other than the reawakening of the dormant and suppressed paganism of the south of France."

The Albigensian heresy in its essence and spirit was anti-national, anti-religious and anti-social. The French historian Michelet sums up the state of the moral degradation of the country where this heresy prevailed in these words: "This Judea of France, as Langue-

doc was termed, recalled the other Judea not only in its bitumen and olives, but it also had its Sodom and Gomorrah."

The Church at first endeavored by persuasion to win over the Albigensians from the errors of heresy. But the evil had taken too deep a root, and besides their cause was secretly if not overtly championed by the Counts of Toulouse, who paltered with the question and in some cases compromised by their actions with truth, honor and fidelity.

Two great saints were delegated by the Pope to preach against the Albigensians—St. Bernard and St. Dominic; but it really required more than moral eloquence to root out this strange and immoral heresy. So bitter became the war between Rome and the Albigensians that the latter rose up and murdered the Pope's Legate. Soon the question became more temporal than spiritual, and kings and counts became involved in it for the purpose of territorial gain and plunder. Nothing, however, can excuse the excesses and death penalties which marked the crusade against the Albigensians, though it must be confessed that the excesses sometimes were provoked. Nor can Simon de Montfort be excused for his heartless cruelties or for using the zeal of religion as a pretext to usurp the territory of the Count of Toulouse. Pope Innocent III. counseled moderation and disapproved of the selfish policy adopted by Simon de Montfort. As a writer tells us, however, what the Church combated in the Albigensians was principles that led directly not only to the ruin of Christianity, but to the very extinction of the human race.

A phenomenon, one of the rarest indeed in literature, marks the literary history of modern Provence. The old Provençal language, about which Dante in his "De Eloquio Vulgaris" writes so entertainingly, if not always accurately, fell gradually through the centuries from its high estate and became only local patois, bearing on its unpruned branches neither literary flower nor fruit. Or to use another simile, the Provençal language became a deserted palace, devoid of both life and beauty, with its walls crumbling and the birds of the air nesting in its desolate stairways and chimneys. Readers of Daudet's "Lettres de Mon Moulin" will remember the beautiful tribute which the author pays to the genius of the great Provençal, who restored the modern Langue d'oc to its rightful place among the great literary languages of the world. Daudet says that one fine day the son of a peasant beholding the ruins of this palace or castle became enamored of it and restored its walls, its windows, its court, its great hall and the very throne upon which princes once sat, and the author of the "Letters" adds:

"The restored palace is the Provençal language and the peasant's son Mistral."

It was certainly a marvelous literary movement that stirred the heart of Provence early in the fifties of the last century. The soul of that movement was unquestionably Frederick Mistral, poet, philologist and lexicographer, who was born at Maiflane, near Avignon, of peasant parentage in 1830. But Mistral was not the first to feel the new Provençal impulse in letters. This honor belongs to Roumanille, the son of a gardener of St. Rémy, who later became a teacher and bookseller in Avignon. Mistral relates his joyous feeling on reading Roumanille's work, "Margarideto," when it appeared in 1847. "Behold," exclaimed young Mistral, "there was the dawn which my soul was awaiting. I had up to then read some little Provençal, but what discouraged me was to see that our language was always employed in a manner of derision. Kindled with a desire on the part of both to restore the language of our mothers, Roumanille and myself studied together the old Provençal works."

Mistral's early studies were pursued at Avingnon, and from there his father sent him to Aix to study law. But as in the case of Petrarch, the young Maillanese, who was a very Greek in his love of beauty in every form, soon abandoned the Pandects of Justinian and the Code Napoleon for the seductive company of the muses. The great event in the revival of the Provençal language and literature was the organization of the Felibrige at Fontsegugne on May 24, 1854. The founders of this literary and fraternal guild destined to do so much for the language and literature of Provence were Roumanille, Mistral and Mathieu. The organization became fully constituted and organized in the great assembly held at Avignon the 21st of May, 1876.

Richard Watson Gilder, one of the most gifted of American poets, touches upon the charm of these modern Provençal Troubadours, who were the actual founders of the Felibrige, in the following beautiful sonnet:

"They said that all the Troubadours had flown—  
No bird to flash a wing or swell a throat!  
But as we journeyed down the rushing Rhone  
To Avignon, what joyful note on note  
Burst forth beneath thy shadow, O Ventour,  
Whose Eastward forehead takes the dawn divine;  
Ah, dear Provence! Ah, happy Troubadour,  
And that sweet mellow antique song of thine!  
Then Roumanille, the leader of the choir;

Then graceful Mathieu, tender, sighing, glowing;  
 Then Wyse all fancy, Aubanel all fire,  
 And Mistral mighty as the north winds blowing;  
 And youthful Gras, and lo! among the rest  
 A mother-bird that sang above her nest."

Gaston Paris, the eminent French philologist and mediævalist, in his volume, "Penseurs et Poetes," tells in a most charming manner of a visit he once paid to Mistral in Maillane at Christmastide, 1872. Indeed, the picture which Gaston Paris draws of Mistral with such a faithful and personal touch is the best estimate to be found in all literature of the greatest of Provençal poets.

In the chapter devoted to Mistral, Gaston Paris tells also of Mistral's meeting with the poet Lamartine and how the latter hailed Mistral as a great epic—a true Homeric poet. He further recounts how Mistral, searching for words and special terms used by the peasantry which he purposed placing in his great Provençal dictionary, would visit the fishermen and note down the words they used with their signification. According to Gaston Paris, the language which the Felibres have made a literary language in Provence is that which is spoken at St. Remy and the surrounding country, and this same character of language without any notable difference prevails along the Rhone from Orange almost to Martigues. Nor must it be thought that this literary movement in Provence which had its inception about the middle of the last century is narrow, unpatriotic or provincial. Felix Gras, one of the most distinguished of the Felibres, has expressed the gospel of this movement in these lines:

"I love my village more than thy village,  
 I love my Provence more than thy province,  
 But I love France more than all."

Many explanations have been given as to the derivation of the word *Felibre*. According to Mistral himself, the word is taken from a prayer which was formerly recited in Provençal families. To-day this literary movement begun by the *Felibre* group extends to the ends of Provence, where if there have not yet appeared gifted poets such as Aubanel, distinguished prose writers such as Roumanille, the charming story-teller of Avignon poets of nature or history such as Langlade of Languedoc, and Abbé Roux, of Limousin, this literary movement has at least stirred up an enthusiasm among the Provençal people and educated the public to the idea that a language is no longer to be despised which is an expression of the morals, sentiments and traditions of a whole people.

Mistral's great masterpiece, "Mireille," appeared in 1859. It is an epic—a rustic epic. The tale itself is nothing, but into the simple web of the story Mistral has woven descriptions of Provençal life, scenery, character, customs and legends that give the poem a worth and a dignity, and in truth a unique place in literature. In 1866 appeared "Calendau." "Mireille" is the apologia of Provence, the poem of the Cram, of the Camargue and Rhone; "Calendau" is the epic of Southern France, the song of the mountain and sea.

But perhaps, after all, Mistral's greatest work is his "Tresor du Felibridge"—a dictionary of the dialect of Maillane which was adopted as the literary tongue by the modern school of Provençal poets, the Felibres. Mistral was offered a seat in the French Academy in 1897, and in 1904 he shared with Echegaray, the great Spanish dramatist, the Nobel Prize as the most distinguished poet of his time. Full of years, the idol of his countrymen and honored by the literary élite of the whole world, Frederick Mistral, the most illustrious representative of modern Provençal song, passed away at his home in Maillane on the 25th of March, 1914, at the ripe age of eighty-four.

So *ave atque vale*, beautiful and historic Provence, where Emperor and Pope once sojourned and the pro-consuls and legions of Caesar issued edicts and built triumphal arches! You still hold in your keeping the splendor of mediæval castle and the soft light of mediæval faith. The Troubadour has indeed passed away, but the light of love and the love of joy still reign in the heart of your people passionate and warm. Your children still join in the hymns to the "Grand Soleil de la Provence" and "hail the Empire of the Sun which the dazzling Rhone borders like a silver hem." The music of your vintage and the fragrance of your thyme-scented hills alike intoxicate the youths and maidens as they dance the endless farandoles in the soft light of a Provençal moon. For all is still charm and loveliness "In the Land of the Troubadour!"

THOMAS O'HAGAN.

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## THE CAPUCHINS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

**A**PHILOSOPHICAL treatise might be written on the influence of the ideal on human conduct and on the course of history, civil and ecclesiastical. Shallow thinkers discredit idealists as theorists and dreamers; but theories often become concrete facts and such dreams waking realities. The famous French Capuchin, Père Joseph du Tremblay, surnamed "his grey Eminence" on account of his being the alter ego of Cardinal Richelieu and the coöoperator of that great statesman in his masterful policy, long cherished an ideal, though he failed to realize it. His grand ideal, noble and chivalrous in its conception, was the revival of a crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land. But the old crusade spirit had died out in Europe since Peter the Hermit, who first raised the inspiring cry of "God wills it!" had passed away. Other men and other ideas prevailed; the division and supineness of the so-called Christian Powers prevented cohesion and unity of aim and action, and after a futile effort to organize an armed movement the scheme had to be dropped. The contemplated crusade was abortive, but the spirit that prompted it was not wholly extinct. Du Tremblay, an austere and zealous religious, a model Capuchin, although immersed in high affairs of state as Richelieu's confidant, became the leader of another crusade. As organizer and controller of the Capuchin missions in the Near East, with Constantinople as the chief base of operations, he formed and directed a crusade which was waged not with weapons of war, but with the two-edged sword of the Spirit; not for the liberation of Palestine from Turkish thraldom, but for the liberation of souls from the worse thraldom of vice and error.

The pioneers or precursors of the Capuchin mission in Constantinople were two Spanish and Italian friars, Father John, of Medino del Campo, in Castile, and Father John, of Troia, in Italy. They were men of exalted holiness, who may be regarded as uncanonized saints. The former, who passed from the Observantines to the Capuchins in 1539, in spirit and in aspect resembled St. Francis, according to a description of him given by a contemporary. He is said to have had many revelations from our Lord, who often appeared to him. The little cell near the Capuchin convent in Montepulciano, constructed of branches of trees and clay, to which remote retreat he was wont to retire to give himself up to contemplation, and where he was the recipient of these divine revelations, is still religiously preserved and venerated.

Father John, of Troia, originally a Franciscan lay Brother, a courageous soul whose great desire was to follow in the footsteps of

the martyrs, had been four times in Africa, where he was scourged and flung into a cistern, in which he remained for twenty-two days with his companions until rescued by some Christians. Undiscouraged and still intent on martyrdom, he went to Rome with a view of getting back to the Dark Continent, when he joined the Capuchins. A very austere and self-denying religious, the Passion was the constant subject of his meditations, and a cave at the base of a hill within the convent grounds his customary dwelling. One day, weeping at the foot of a crucifix, he heard these words as if they came from the lips of the Figure on the Cross: "Why weepest thou?" "I weep," he replied with emotion, "because I see that Thou hast shed all Thy blood on the Cross for me and I not a drop for Thee; because I am thinking of the youths and children who triumphed as martyrs, and I in this age am far from such a triumph." Jesus said to him: "Desirest thou martyrdom? Thou shalt have it." In the sequel both friars, after suffering much in Palestine, went to Egypt, where they earned the martyr's palm. Meanwhile they were destined to be fellow-laborers in the mission field. It was at Assisi, where they had gone for the feast of Portiuncula, they met and read each other's souls with that mysterious insight given to the saints. With the permission of their respective superiors and the mandate of Julius III., they proceeded about 1551 to Constantinople, missioned to preach the Gospel to the Mahometans, the same mission with which the saint of Assisi had begun his apostolate. But the moment they attempted to preach the Turks fell upon them and threw them into prison. The Catholic residents engaged in commerce, fearing that a general persecution, to the injury of their business, might ensue, bribed the jailers and procured their liberation; but they were expelled from the city. But with all that, their work was not fruitless. They had opened a way for other missionaries. In 1583 five Jesuit Fathers founded a mission in the Church of St. Benedict, now served by the Vincentians; but after five years the superior was summoned to Italy and three of them died of the plague. Very soon Propaganda recalled the remaining Jesuit, having decided to confide the mission to religious of another order.

In 1587 the general chapter of the Capuchin Order, deliberating in Rome, devoted serious attention to the missions among the infidels. Some Capuchins, having obtained faculties from Sixtus V., were sent to Constantinople. This expedition was celebrated because of the participation of St. Joseph of Leonessa, the great precursor of the Capuchin missions.<sup>1</sup> When, with four companion

<sup>1</sup> Eufranio Desiderio, born in 1556 at Leonessa, in Umbria. He joined the Capuchins when he was sixteen years of age and made his novitiate in the convent of the Carcerelle, near Assisi. He was noted for his

friars, he reached the mouth of the Dardanelles, a furious tempest arose which threatened to engulf them; all on board gave themselves up for lost except the saint, who betrayed no alarm, but with his thoughts directed heavenwards, when danger was imminent, had recourse to prayer, and presently the storm ceased and there came a great calm. Strangers to the city, which was a *terra incognita* to them, the missionaries did not know where to find the street that would lead them to their destination, when a young boy of seven made his appearance and offered to guide them to Pera, which he did, and then, smiling, disappeared. No one knew who the boy was, but later St. Joseph of Leonessa affirmed that it was his little nephew, who had died a few days before they left Italy.

At Pera the Capuchins got possession of a ruined church that had formerly belonged to the Benedictines, and which they repaired. At that epoch pirates infested the seas, and many thousands of Christians were imprisoned in Turkey. This alone opened up a wide field for missionary zeal. St. Joseph did everything to alleviate the lot of these poor prisoners, to console them and help them to endure patiently their sufferings, spending his days in the prisons from morning to night and sometimes remaining there for a whole week. He effected a marvelous reformation among them: obscene speech, perjury, hatred and despair gave place to better sentiments, until the prison was almost transformed into a monastery. This transformation, pleasing to God, was displeasing to the devil, so that the saint had to minister secretly to baffle the opposition raised against him, to escape the vigilance of the guards, being scourged almost to death when his presence was discovered. Himself made prisoner, he only obtained his release a month afterwards through the intermediary of the Venetian agent or consul. Then in addition to the scourges of the jailers came the scourge of a plague, when the reaper Death thrust his sickle in among the stricken population and mowed down many lives. The four Capuchins were to be found wherever the plague made most ravages, ministering to the sick and dying. Two of them, Father Peter and Father Dionysius, forfeited their lives in this pious exercise of heroic charity. St. Joseph caught the contagion, but did not die of it. All his solicitude was devoted to the Catholics and to the conversion of schismatics. But his great desire was to win the crown of martyrdom, and, with that end in view, as the Mahometans did not come to the church, he boldly preached in

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austerities, especially his great abstinence. In 1599, the year before the jubilee, he fasted the whole year by way of preparation to gain the plenary indulgence. He died on February 4, 1612, at the age of fifty-seven. Beatified in 1737 by Clement XII., he was nine years afterwards canonized by Benedict XIV.

the streets, and with such fearlessness, earnestness and fervor that Father Peter of the Cross, shortly before his death, dreading their expulsion, counseled the saint to observe prudence. After Father Peter passed away, the idea of Christianizing the Turks wherever and whenever he came in contact with them again took hold of him, and he devoted himself to it with all his ardor. He went farther. In his sublime audacity he tried to convert the Sultan, following him to the mosques and even penetrating unobserved into the imperial palace, until, discovered by a janissary, he was thrust out, and when he later renewed the attempt, fared much worse, was bastinadoed and thrown, more dead than alive, into prison. In those times it was difficult, even for those entitled to it, to get audience of the Sultan. Ambassadors of the greatest Christian Powers were only admitted after assuming garments prescribed by court etiquette, addressed him with a curtain intervening, and received his oracular utterances through the medium of the mouth of a dragoman, or interpreter; dealing of affairs of state solely with the Grand Vizier. Such formalities are no longer observed, but the Sultans have been always environed with a pompous ceremonial. St. Joseph had been guilty of an unpardonable crime for attempting to accost the Sultan in his imperial palace and incurred the death penalty. When he heard his sentence, he exclaimed: "And is it true, sweetest love of my soul, that Thou has deigned to confer upon me such an honor, such a grace? Yes, yes, I shall depend totally on Thy will. Who shall separate me now from Thy love, if a chain binds me thereto, if a hook<sup>2</sup> attaches me? Ah, death, so much the more useful the more painful thou art, I thank thee for the favors I anticipate from thy duration; thou wilt not devour me so voraciously as not to give me time to testify to my God the desire of suffering for Him not one, but a thousand martyrdoms." After uttering these words, he was at once led to execution by order of Amurath II., then reigning. Having ascended the ladder resting upon the beam upon which he was to die, the executioners drove two hooks, one through his right hand and another through his right foot, and then withdrew the ladder and left him hanging. The executioners then lit a fire of fagots underneath the suspended body; but the saint, with a placid countenance and a tranquil mind in the midst of this atrocious punishment, implored the divine forgiveness for his merciless torturers. For three days he hung on the gallows and was already almost at

<sup>2</sup> St. Joseph was sentenced to death by the hook, as it was called, a peculiarly painful and lingering death. The right hand and right foot were pierced by a metal hook, by which the sufferer was suspended from a projecting beam and left to die of pain, hunger and exhaustion. Several witnesses afterwards testified that they saw the scars of the wounds in the saint's hand and foot, both during his life and after his death.

the last gasp when he was miraculously released by an angel, who told him to return without delay to Italy, where he would consummate his martyrdom. He then returned to Italy. While others congratulated him on his escape from death, he lamented having barely missed the martyrdom he so earnestly desired.

The mission of Constantinople, the first instituted in the East, dates from the opening of the seventeenth century, when the crusaders who triumphed at Lepanto were replaced by diplomats who, though they laughed at Achmet's boastful title of "Emperor of victorious emperors and distributor of crowns to the greatest princes in the world," sent ambassadors and consuls to the Porte, privileged to take under their protection foreign subjects and commerce. It did not fare equally with civilization and religion; the latter had to rely solely on the work of the missions for its existence and development. It was then Father Joseph du Tremblay confided his new and pacific crusade to the missionaries, first sending, on January 22, 1622, Father Pacificus, of Provins, of the Paris province, on a journey of exploration to survey the ground; for the work of preparing the way for the struggles and conquests of the future should from its birth be based on solid foundations initiated by men of strong faith, singular courage and heroic virtue. He embarked at Marseilles in the San Francesco, one of a flotilla of sixteen sails; for it was necessary to provide against a possible attack by Barbary pirates, it being the epoch when daring corsairs, terrorizing and enslaving, ruled the waves. A storm scattered the vessels near Malta. The one in which Father Pacificus and two of his brethren sailed made for the Adriatic and drifted about for four days until it reached the Ionian Archipelago and the Dardanelles, anchoring at length at Constantinople on March 2, 1622. He remained two months in the city investigating, and after traversing Egypt, Palestine and Syria, went to Rome, when Propaganda determined the limits in which the Capuchins were to carry on their apostolate, namely, in the city of Constantinople and in the neighboring countries of Greece and Thrace.

It appears to have been at the instance of the French Ambassador, Philippe d'Harley, that the Capuchins were introduced to Constantinopie. Pope Gregory XV. and the Sacred Congregation having approved of the project, Father Pacificus and two other fathers were deputed to begin the work. Furnished with a letter from Propaganda to the Ambassador, in which mention is made of a church at the disposal of the Latin Patriarch being assigned to them pending the establishment of a regular convent of the strict observance whence the religious could exercise their ministry "with that fruit which the Capuchins accumulate in different parts of the world to the great satisfaction of the Sacred Congregation," and another

letter to the Vicar-Patriarchal, Benedict of Verona, they returned to France, where they obtained the approval of the King and Cardinal Richelieu and subsequently of the reigning Pontiff, Urban VIII. Father Joseph was nominated superior of the Eastern missions in 1625, with absolute power to select out of all the Capuchin convents the religious who seemed to him the most fitted for the work to the number of a hundred. Father Pacificus, having been assigned to another mission, that of Syria, Fathers Archangel, of Fossés; Leonard, of Tours; Evangelist, of Reims, and Raphael, of Neuville, were sent to Constantinople.

The four missionaries were for eight days lodged in a house near the French Embassy, the Ambassador himself supplying them daily with food, until the Church of St. George, in Galata—a suburb of Constantinople in which all the European merchants, agents and tradesmen of different nationalities resided—and a small house (now the convent of the Vincentians) were assigned to them. They had to learn the languages of the country, particularly Greek, and also Italian, which was spoken by the Venetians and Genoese; only those connected with the Embassy and the French merchants and sailors speaking French. For about two months they daily received the necessary provisions from M. de Césy; but they politely declined the pecuniary assistance tendered to them by the Catholic community of Pera, preferring to abandon themselves wholly to Divine Providence in accordance with the spirit and practice of the primitive Franciscans. All were attracted by the simplicity of their life. There was a rivalry in generosity among those good Catholics. The representatives of the Powers first gave the example, in which they were followed by heretics as well as Catholics, who sent their gifts to the Capuchin convent.

All, however, were not of the same mind. Although they had been graciously received by the accredited representatives of France, the Venetian Republic and England, by the Vicar-Patriarchal and the prior of the community of Pera, the foundation of the mission set malignant tongues talking adversely; some attributed a political scope to it and others a plot against the Moslem Empire, using the Turk against the House of Austria. They had no difficulty, of course, in refuting these absurd accusations.

They dwelt in the little house alongside the church at Galata, the first Capuchin convent in Constantinople up to the fire of 1666. Meanwhile they devoted themselves to preaching in their own church or in whatever churches they were asked to preach; and invitations were not wanting. In the beginning they had not many heterodox hearers on account of their unacquaintance with the Greek language, but they soon mastered it and were seen in the pul-

pits of Greek churches, and not only there, but in the streets, in the baths or on board ship whenever an opportunity of fulfilling their ministry presented itself. The penury in which they lived, begging their bread from door to door, never questing for money, and their self-sacrifice so impressed the people that it was said the sole sight of a Capuchin did more good among these Orientals than would the sermons of the most fervent preacher effect among European Catholics. All, however, were not so impressed. Father Archangel, the guardian or superior, writing to Paris on April 15, 1627, relates how, when he went questing through the city, he met a great number of Turks who, seeing him strangely garbed, treated him differently. While some stopped him and kissed the hem of his garment or the edge of his beard, others spat in his face, gave him a blow in passing, or pulled his capuche. One day a young Turk picked up a stone and flung it at him, severely wounding him in the head. Thinking he was much more seriously injured than he was, he put up his hand to feel if his head was bleeding, and raised his hands and eyes to heaven. A Turkis<sup>lit</sup> <sup>a</sup> gentleman had the boy arrested and made the bystanders give him thirty strokes of a stick. "If I had not run to succor him," says Father Archangel, "I believe he would have died under the same; and I ran, to tell the truth, rather to give good example than for his sake. It was then it pleased the Divine Goodness to cry 'halt!'; for since the good Turk was touched with compassion for me they have not done me any injury. In the beginning all the Turks displayed great hatred of us, sent their children who could hardly walk alone with knives in their hands and drove them towards us. I took hold of them, called upon the name of Jesus, and carried them to their mothers, who were at their doors. Now they have learned all about us from renegades and are fond of us, come to eat with us, wish us to observe all our rules in their presence, such as keeping silent and reading at meals, and are as discreet as one could tell. They hear our Vespers in choir where we chant, and say that they love us so much that if any movement against the Christians should arise we need fear no evil, being, they add, men consecrated to God, which they recognize by this infallible sign, that in abandoning the world we have not reserved the use of money, with which we could have all that we wished. There are not more beautiful places in the world, no city greater than this. The grandeur of this prince is unspeakable; his stable alone contains five thousand horses. Finally we see his fleet returning from the windows of our convent; it was headed by one hundred and twenty-two galleys, and when they passed before the Grand Vizier, posted on the seashore, the salvo of cannons that saluted him made the earth tremble. We are only four, and we have already conquered

Constantinople. We have still the island of Scio, where there is the finest city in Greece after Constantinople. We are then separated, two here and two there. We preach earnestly and declare the truth to as many as come to hear us."

The two friars at Scio were Fathers Leonard, of Tours, and Raphael, of Neuville. From thence the missionaries multiplied their zeal and daily gained new souls to the faith; scattering themselves in increased numbers among the Cyclades and extending their operations over the whole East; all the stations at first being dependent on Constantinople.

Father Archangel had not at first much to say in praise of the Greeks, whom he characterized as ignorant, proud and vicious, the most antagonistic to Catholics properly so-called. Father Clement, of Terzorio, general secretary of the Capuchin missions, from whose interesting work<sup>3</sup> we quote, is not more hopeful, and says if their prejudices were removed great multitudes of them would open their eyes to the light and see in Western Europeans not old enemies, but twin brethren in religion. "The missioner," he adds, "ought to revive in himself austerity of life and regular observance in order to produce more fruit among the people whom he spiritually feeds. To infuse the Spirit of God it is necessary to be full of it, as the Apostles were. And our four missioners, with their successors, deserve on that account to be praised, for they always adhered to the regular observance; renewing their spirit in prayer and in religious acts in common; and then went forth burning with the love of God and their neighbor to instruct the people."

Tolerated only as chaplains of the foreign ambassadors and consuls, they were affected by the political vicissitudes of the time and were treated with favor or disfavor according as the relations between the Porte and the Powers were amicable and strained. To France belongs the honor of having, from the beginning, taken these missions under its protection. The King of France was the only sovereign who had the status of Emperor at the Porte; hence he was more listened to and his influence was more valuable to the missions. The principal office of the French Ambassador was officially declared to be "to protect the name and authority of His Majesty [Louis XIII.], religious institutions established in different places in the Levant and also Christians going and coming to visit the sacred places of the Holy Land." The official document specially refers to "the piety, devotion and doctrine" of the Capuchin missioners, which "rendered them commendable," and proceeds: "We have for this reason, and on account of the great edification which

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<sup>3</sup> "Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini," Vol. II., p. 56; Roma, 1914.

the public receive from their salutary instructions and conferences, taken to heart the advancement of their order likewise in distant countries and regions and, with our authority procured their establishment in various piaces in the Levant, where, desiring to maintain them, being well informed of the fruit they have gathered there for some years for the glory of God, we make known that for all these motives and other sound considerations we have declared, etc., etc., that we place under our protection and safeguard the Capuchin religious who are in the said countries of the Levant." This document is dated "from the camp before Rochelle, July 22, 1628."<sup>4</sup>

The establishment of the Convent of St. Louis in Pera, which has survived all the vicissitudes of centuries and still exists as a centre of Capuchin missionary activity, dates back to the first half of the seventeenth century. Its genesis was the opening of a school in an old house belonging to a lady named Subrana, in the vicinity of the French Embassy, in which Father Thomas, of Paris, took up his abode along with an old converted Armenian called Abraham. Soon after its opening, about Eastertide, 1629, it was frequented by boys of every class and creed. The missionaries said Mass in a room of the house until there was added to it a chapel dedicated to St. Louis, which was used as a public church and was served by Father Bernard, of Paris, and Father James; the former, being the most skilled in the Turkish idiom, hearing the confessions of those who only spoke that language or Greek, Italian and French, and the latter applying himself to the instruction of the pupils, who numbered forty, including not a few Greeks.

Another and rather arduous task which these zealous Capuchins imposed upon themselves was to lead back to the fold Armenian and Greek schismatics, who, at the commencement of the mission, fled from them, but were gradually drawn towards them, attracted by their exemplary lives and preaching, when they approached them with confidence. Moreover, there were two schismatic prelates who came within the scope of their apostolate. Conferences to the Greeks having been started, Greek priests and Greek notabilities and the two Bishops referred to attended the mission to have conversations or discussions with the Fathers, whose unflagging zeal went so far as to attempt the conversion of the Patriarch. There was then on the throne of Photius the celebrated Cyril Lucaris, a man not easy to be induced to change his opinions, who had by every method disseminated the doctrines of Calvinism in the Greek Church, already rent by the Photian schism, and who, having displayed hostility to French influence in the Mediterranean, was deposed and put to

<sup>4</sup> Manuscript record in the general archives of the Capuchin missions in Rome.

death. It was with his successor, Cyril II., Contaris, the Capuchin missionaries held discussions in the hope of leading him into the bosom of the Catholic Church. He was orthodox in doctrine, had partly studied under the Jesuits, and there was ground to hope for his reconciliation. We have not sufficient information as to the way in which he was persuaded to abandon the schism, but we know for certain that during his journey in France Father Archangel, of Fossés, presented to the King a letter from the Patriarch Cyril, who begged him to take the Church of the East under his royal protection. It appears that Propaganda interested itself in his case and gave the Capuchin all the necessary powers to reconcile Contaris to the Church,<sup>5</sup> but it does not seem to have led to any practical result. The disgraced Patriarch, re-established on his throne in 1631, was deposed by a council in 1633; recovering his dignity in 1635, he was relegated to Tunis, where he died a violent death. If history is silent about this conversion, it is perhaps because of the dread of discovery and undergoing the disagreeable consequences. Father Clement, of Terzorio, observes: "One should not, however, think that, once the conversion of a Patriarch is secured, the whole people will follow him. By no means. Persons who know the East and the Patriarchal organization know that even if the Patriarch should wish it, so opposed always is his mixed council, composed of fanatical heretics, and even if all the Bishops were in agreement, perhaps not even then would there be a glimmer of hope of converting the people."<sup>6</sup>

St. Paul says "the Greeks seek after wisdom." They have always had a passion for dialectics, and, stimulated by curiosity and that alertness of mind and fondness of controversy which are their racial characteristics, they often came to see the missionaries and discuss with them, deferring to the judgments of the Greek priests present. These courteous conferences produced conversions which, however, through dread of the Patriarch Cyril, were kept private. But they were soon convinced that such conversions were not lasting; the weak and timid, at the first whisper of fear, fell away and returned to the schism. Then they thought of accepting only public conversions. "Such was the zeal of our fathers," wrote Father Thomas, of Paris, "that a large number of Greeks went to them for confession, and all who approached them returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church and made public profession of the faith, since they had refused to hear those who would not abandon the schism. They often sent for them at the moment of death; the priests themselves some-

<sup>5</sup> A Brief of December 10, 1630, accords to Father Archangel powers "to absolve Cyril Contaris from every censure of schism and heresy."

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., Vol. II., pp. 63-64.

times had recourse to their ministry at that extremity." It is noted as a wonderful and truly apostolic incident that the Greek Bishop of Thermia went in person to Constantinople on the 22d of November, 1642, and begged, solicited and conjured the Custos to send him at least one Capuchin to instruct his people, pending the arrival of others. But this good prelate could only get promises for the future.

In explanation of the conduct of the missionaries towards the Greeks, it is noted that in the seventeenth century the schism was not so complete as not to leave some hope of a return, but when in 1704 the Patriarch of Constantinople issued an encyclical forbidding intercourse with Roman Catholics, the rupture between the Churches was definite and the prohibition of communicating *in divinus* with schismatics came into full force.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the great mission of Constantinople was divided into three Custodies, entrusted to the Provinces of Paris, Touraine and Brittany. The first Custos of Greece, which included twelve stations, among them being Galata, Pera and Constantinople, was Father Archangel, of Fossés, who, after opening a mission in Andros, an island of the Cyclades, returned to France in 1639. This distinguished Capuchin visited all the missions of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and America. He continued for thirty more years to serve the missions, earning the praise and gratitude of Propaganda, and died in Paris on the 22d of July, 1670.

At this epoch numerous Turkish corsairs swarmed in the Mediterranean, while the war with Austria and Poland continued to be waged on the Continent. All the prisoners of war taken by the Turks who refused to apostatize were made slaves. They were cast into ill-lighted, unhealthy, crowded prisons, their half naked limbs loaded with heavy irons, which were never removed until they died, and were chained two by two when at work; that of Constantinople often containing up to two thousand prisoners, some of whom through grief and desperation apostatized.

Their sad condition appealed irresistibly to all Christians. The Catholic Church, the first to liberate the slave, promptly responded to the appeal. The religious orders led the way in a movement for the redemption of these poor slaves. St. John of Malta, St. Felix of Valois, and St. Peter Nolasco devoted their possessions and their lives to their liberation, founding for that purpose the Order of Mercy, with the obligation of taking the place of the slave if necessary to redeem him. St. Raymond of Pennafort similarly, by an heroic act of charity, gave himself as a hostage for them. Money, ever a great power for good or evil, was generously and self-sacrificingly spent in furtherance of this work of mercy. Authority and

influence, too, occasionally prevailed. In 1647 the Ambassador of The Hague liberated after three years' imprisonment Father Francis Gallipoli, general preacher and Custos of Calabria, and on another occasion three Dominicans and two Theatines.

The Capuchins, unable to succor them by pecuniary means, brought them spiritual succor, like St. Joseph of Leonessa. One day they had the consolation of announcing to them their complete liberty. On the accession to the Pontifical throne of Alexander VII., a universal jubilee, "*urbi et orbi*," was proclaimed. Father Urban, of Paris, went into the prison at Constantinople and communicated the joyful news to two thousand prisoners, exhorting them to have confidence in God who, when they had first liberated themselves from the slavery of the demon, would bring about their liberation from that of the Turks. The Capuchin's words were prophetic. For fifteen nights he heard their confessions; some of them had not been to the tribunal of penance for ten, twenty, thirty and forty years. On an appointed day they all received Holy Communion, so glad and content that their chains seemed lighter. Three months afterwards took place the battle of the Dardanelles, between the Venetians and the Turks, when the former achieved a glorious victory, sinking ninety-four ships of the Sultan's fleet and setting free eight thousand slaves from the galleys, and among these the two thousand in the prison at Constantinople.<sup>7</sup>

Another work of mercy in which the Capuchins coöperated was the relief of the fugitive slaves who took refuge in the French Embassy, whom they fed, clothed and instructed, reconciling to the Church those who had apostatized and converting yearly not less than two hundred. The houses of the ambassadors, consuls and every foreign subject had the right of sanctuary or domiciliary inviolability; but the Turks could not endure this privilege, and woe to the fugitive slave who had sought immunity there if he ever fell into their hands again!

In succoring the plague-stricken the Capuchins did heroic work, even at the cost of their lives, the Province of Paris alone, in the first century of the mission, having lost fourteen missionaries who died of the pestilence. The plague was an epidemic common in those

<sup>7</sup> Though slavery has been abolished in the Turkish dominions, at Djeddah in 1888 there were 12,000 slaves sold to Arab agents, who resold them in Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, Beyrouth and other cities. At that time the commerce in slaves at Hodeida was more important than in any other place because of the annual deportation of 20,000 black and white slaves, men and women, besides 20,000 from the Soudan and others from Tripoli, Murzuk and Fezzan, until they reached a total of 100,000. In 1857 the Ottoman Government published a law imposing punishment on any person discovered to be implicated in the slave traffic. In 1880 England entered into a convention with Turkey for its prevention.

times. The Turks, moved by a kind of fatalism, would not allow any preventive or remedial measures, such as prudence would suggest to be adopted, and hence the mortality was always very great. An account of its ravages sent from Scio in 1653 states that in that year from 6,000 to 7,000 persons perished of the plague, and that those stricken with the disease saw no deliverance but in the mercy of God, to whom they had recourse in fervent prayers. The Capuchins organized public processions, headed by the Crucifix, in which they walked barefooted, without sandals; crowds of men, women and children following, many of whom, after the example of the friars, going barefooted for an entire novena. They were living skeletons, emaciated and exhausted, beating their breasts and imploring pardon from God for their faults, each one promising to perform some good action if his life was spared. After that the plague began to diminish, and what is particularly worthy of observation is that notwithstanding the missionaries were daily in close contact with the plague-stricken, exhorting and consoling them and administering the sacraments to the dying, none of them died of the pestilence on that occasion. Father Archangel, of Tillet, a man of illustrious family and of singular charity, who was attacked by the malady but did not fall a victim to it, was reduced to such a state of weakness that he had to return to France, followed, on his embarkation, by a weeping crowd of all creeds to whom he had been a great benefactor, administering to their spiritual as well as corporal needs; baptizing Greeks, Jews and Mussulmans at the point of death and converting numbers of schismatics whom he led back to the Church.

A great disaster befell the mission in 1660 which threatened to destroy the work of thirty-four years. On the night of April 10 the Church of St. George, with all the property adjoining it, and the Galata quarter became a prey to the flames. It was very difficult to obtain a new permission to build a church and convent. Meanwhile, to allay the suspicions of the Turks, they constructed a large store with some cells above; but as soon as the Ottoman Governor was made aware of the subterfuge he immediately had the building demolished. Ten years elapsed; but the missionaries, who continued to labor in Pera and the islands, did not lose hope of one day being able to rebuild St. George's. The Court of Paris, availing of the arrival of a new French Ambassador in 1670, asked of the Porte the required permission, which was granted in 1673, perpetual possession of their churches in Galata being secured to the Capuchins and Jesuits. It meant the practical reestablishment of the Catholic religion in the Ottoman Empire. The church was hardly finished when another disaster occurred. Having been constructed too has-

tily, half the roof fell in. This entailed the necessity of a new permission. Finally in 1677 the whole church was rebuilt and solemnly blessed by Monsignor Ridolfi, suffragan of the Vicar-Patriarchal of Constantinople. An inscription in incised golden letters on a black marble slab commemorates the event. The poor convent of St. George was to pass through other troubles. In 1696 a fire consumed St. Benedict's and St. Francis' and destroyed the convent; the church was saved as by a miracle. In 1731 it was again rebuilt. In 1761 the Church of St. George (like that of the Jesuits and Dominicans) was profaned by the arrest of some Armenian Catholics who took refuge there, fleeing from the galleys to which they were being led.

The Sultan in a letter dated 1678 to the Pope, whom he styles "Great Priest of Rome and Sacrificer of Jesus who was massacred by the Hebrews in the city of Jerusalem," after declaring that for a long time he had put to death all the "sacrificers" sent into the various cities and countries of his jurisdiction, gives as one of the reasons why he had "restrained his just fury" the "great humility and obedience towards him of these sacrificers and penitent Capuchins," whom he "permitted to live" in his Empire; his lieutenants and governors having informed him "that their manner of life and conversation with his subjects is very modest and without scandal," at which he greatly marveled! This and the recommendation of the King of France (Louis XIV.) were the considerations that hindered him from banishing them and moved him to treat them with much consideration by licensing those who call themselves "servants of a certain prophet of theirs named Francis" to remain in Constantinople and "serve the Nazarene and their prophet according to their statutes." The letter, which is in the grandiose and verbose style affected by Orientals, is signed "Mecmet, Emperor of the whole world, King of the Terrestrial Paradise of Jerusalem and Lord of the Holy Sepulchre of the God of the Christians, Confederate of the great Most Christian King and Benefactor of the Great Priest of Rome."

The Pope (Innocent XI.) in the course of his reply tells the Sultan that "the holy desire and interior movement" to permit the Capuchins, "the most humble servants of Jesus Christ," to build "a new and little house" in Constantinople proceeded from God, "who governs kings and emperors and holds in His hands the hearts of monarchs," and that "the poor religious penitents are disciples of the great St. Francis, who was in his life the true imitator of Jesus Christ, who by His death gave life to the world and without whom none can be saved." Having referred the Sultan to the Apostles' Creed as containing a summary of the chief articles of the Christian

religion, the Pontiff proceeds: "We do not wish to specify them here, having given orders to our brethren, your most humble servants, who are in your great city of Constantinople to offer to satisfy your desire, which will be better done by word of mouth than by written and dead words." Alluding to the Holy Sacrifice, His Holiness adds: "As to how this Sacrifice is performed, the fathers who are in Constantinople will tell you if it pleases your Majesty to hear them; this cannot be taught at once, but requires much time and lengthy discourses."

After the burning of Galata all the foreign residents went to Pera, where very soon was erected the Church of St. Louis, the expenses being borne by the faithful and chiefly by the French Ambassador. *Pari passu*, with the enlargement of the church proceeded the acquisition of other properties, and the convent of Pera, growing in importance, became the principal centre of the mission. The Comte des Alleurs, when dying, left his heart to the Capuchins and was entombed in the chapel of St. Felix. It was the chapel of the French Ambassador and all his household, and one of the Capuchins was his chaplain and accompanied him on his journeys. The convent was the residence of the superior general of the missions, or the Custos of Greece. These Custos were men of remarkable gifts, of indefatigable zeal. One of them, who held office four times, Father Urban, of Paris, who died in 1703 at the age of eighty-four, after being sixty-seven years in religion, fifty of which he spent in the mission, often exposed himself to the plague, converted numerous schismatics, consoled, fortified and catechized the poor slaves, arbitrated on disputes among Christians, secretly baptized children and adults, men and women, and was frequently punished for making converts, glorying to suffer something for the love of God.

Shortly after the peace of Carlowitz (January 26, 1699), Turkey was again at war with the Venetian Republic, and after the conclusion of a new peace diplomatic relations were resumed. In accordance with the usages of the time among Catholic nations, the Venetian Ambassador was accompanied by a theologian. This office was later filled by Paolo Francesco Giustiniani, a member of a ducal family, whose head was senator and procurator of St. Mark's. Giustiniani's mother, Elisabetta Morosini, was niece of that Francesco who was Doge and the first to bear the title of Peloponnesiaco. Born on April 14, 1715, and baptized with the name of Giulio Ascanio, he was in the flower of his age. Moved by an extraordinary spirit of piety and total detachment from worldly things, renouncing to the surprise of everybody and with wonderful constancy the honors and distinctions that might be expected by one of his illustrious birth and rare talents, he entered the humble institute of the Minors

Capuchin in the Province of Venice on the 1st of May, 1736. Humility was thenceforward his devise, austerity what most distinguished him. At Rome, where he pursued the higher studies, he acquired the reputation of being a good theologian, and on his return to his native place was sent, with faculties from Propaganda and the Senate, to fill the office mentioned at Constantinople. But he did not long retain it, for before he was thirty years of age he was chosen and consecrated by Benedict XIV. Bishop of Chioggia (July 1, 1744) and then translated to the See of Treviso (November 16, 1750), already previously ruled by his ancestors, Francesco and Vincenzo Giustiniani, and Silvestro, Marco and Fortunato Morosini. In the first see he got the Capuchins to catechize in the public square; in the second his missionary work lasted for thirty-seven years, at the end of which, weighed down with age, he resigned under Pius VI., who nominated him Archbishop of Chalcedon (March 10, 1788). He died on February 17, 1789, and was buried in the Capuchin church at Treviso.

We have heard much in these days of Armenia in its relations with the Ottoman Government and the world has been shocked by the pitiless persecution to which the Armenians have been subjected. At the epoch referred to the French missionaries were embroiled with the Ambassador Ferréol<sup>8</sup> in the famous Armenian question which originated at the time when that nation adopted the Eutychian heresy, and, withdrawn from the vigilance of the supreme hierarchy, the see of Gregory the Illuminator split into four. An Armenian Bishop of Stamboul was made a Patriarch of Constantinople about 1307. The Sultan, Mahomet II., having subdued Constantinople in 1453, commanded Gioachino, Archbishop of Bursa, to bring into the capital a large number of Armenian families and, being favorably disposed towards them, assigned to them a quarter which they were to inhabit, making the Archbishop not only their hierarchical head, but also his political lieutenant, with the title of "Patrik," or Patriarch, for the maintenance of order and as security for their fidelity, as he had previously confirmed to Gennadio, the Patriarch of the Greeks. He gave him authority over all the Armenians dwelling in Greece and Anatolia, with power to change, confirm or depose the Bishops and prelates subject to his jurisdiction. About the middle of the seventeenth century the Bishop of Jerusalem, who had the

<sup>8</sup> The action of Count Ferréol, Minister of Louis XIV. at Stamboul (1689-1709), in carrying off to Paris the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, who evinced strong anti-Catholic tendencies, served to bring persecution upon the Armenian Catholics in the Turkish Empire, which lasted down to 1830. Of the Catholic Armenians, the greater portion are under the Patriarch, whose full title is "Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenians." In Rome there is a titular Bishop of the Armenians.

faculty of consecrating the chrism, began arbitrarily to call himself Patriarch. Such a conflict of authorities split up the nation, already extinct as a kingdom (1375). In the beginning of the century one Melchisadec was called Patriarch of Constantinople and a certain Ephrem Archbishop of Adrianople. The latter, a most ambitious man, did everything in his power to displace the other, and having discovered three of his priests in relations with the Capuchin missionaries, suspended them from every office and sent them to Melchisadec, that by his authority he might have them condemned to the galleys. The Patriarch absolved them. The Archbishop then denounced him to the Court—at that time in Adrianople—and Mustapha II. deposed Melchisadec and elevated Ephrem, ordering that none of his Armenian subjects should give shelter to any missionary, were he an Armenian or of any other nation, on pain of death or confiscation of all his property. A violent persecution followed. The heretics were on the point of obtaining a decree ordering all Armenians to return to their Church under pain of being sent to the galleys, and that those who frequented the French churches should be heavily fined, when an arrangement was come to between the two parties, subject to the approval of Rome and the Patriarch of Armenia (Ecmaizin), the points under discussion to be submitted to the Latin Archbishop, the superiors of the religious houses, and other theologians. The *modus vivendi* laid down that the schismatics should not require any profession of faith from Catholics, forbade them to anathematize the Pope, the Council of Chalcedon<sup>9</sup> and St. Leo; the Armenian rite to be common to all, the Roman Church recognized as holy and having priority, and other provisions; the transgressors to be handed over to the Ambassador to have them punished by the Caimacam. One copy of the act was to be lodged with the Ambassador and another with the Capuchins of St. Louis of Pera, to be preserved in their archives.

Nothwithstanding this compact, a new persecution was stirred up by an intriguer named Avedick, notorious for his schismatical opposition to the Jesuit mission at Erzerum, in combination with Feizulla-Effendi, through whose influence he got himself nominated Bishop of Essenga. As soon as he heard of the persecution of Ephrem, he hurried to Constantinople, put himself at the head of a peace party and, with the help of the aforesaid mufti, was elected Vicar of the Patriarch. Peace concluded, not many weeks elapsed when, under the same accusation of favoring foreigners, Ephrem

<sup>9</sup> The Council that in 451 expelled Eutyches, who was exiled. He had been previously (448) degraded, excommunicated and deposed at a synod presided over by St. Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople. The Eutychian or Monophosite heresy asserted that Christ had but one nature after the Incarnation.

was exiled to Esmiazin, and Avedick was named Patriarch (December, 1701). The mufti, shortly after, secured for his friend the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. He was a wolf in sheep's clothing, who ravaged the fold, obtaining from Adrianople twenty decrees against the Capuchin missions. But after the revolution, which resulted in the deposition of Mustafa II., the people demanded and obtained from Acmet III. the death of the Mufti Feiz-ulla-Effendi, the chief cause of all the trouble. With the fall of Mustafa fell all his adherents and Avedick in 1703 was imprisoned in the Seven Towers, from which he was relegated to Abratadas, near Tripoli, in Syria. But his friends, by bribing the Turks, got him restored to the Patriarchate in 1704. He promised to no longer torment the Armenian Catholics, to prohibit anathema being pronounced against St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon in the churches or Dioscorus and the other heretics the schismatics honored as saints invoked. But after a short time he returned to his old practices of bastinadoing, imprisoning and extortion. Again deposed (February 25, 1706), bastinadoed in his turn and imprisoned, after two months he was driven into exile. Some say he was carried off to Scio and handed over to France, was first consigned to the care of the Benedictines of Mont Saint Michel, then sent to the Bastile, and finally liberated and attached to the Church of St. Sulpice. He was one of those alleged to be identical with the famous "man of the iron mask," one of the mysterious and unsolved problems of history. Others say he was found by Maltese in the waters of Tenedos, taken to Malta and then to Messina, where penitent, he ended his life among the Capuchins in the sentiments of a true Catholic.

The succession to the Patriarchate was like the succession to the Imperial dignity during the last stages of the decadent Roman Empire. They were elevated and deposed more or less ignominiously every three years. The ferocious John, of Smyrna, who, through revenge, continued the old persecution, was particularly antagonistic to the Capuchins and those of their race. He slaughtered atrociously. Nineteen were beheaded; one, Der Comidas, a convert priest of the Armenian Church of St. George, was arrested at night, two of his teeth broken, and he was then consigned to the Vizir as a foreigner (November 3, 1707). But he was not beheaded, as Serpos asserts.

Clement XI. got Louis XIV. to write to the Ottoman Government to obtain from the Turks better treatment for the Armenians and other Catholics of the Levant, but little or nothing came of it. A new Patriarch, elected in 1724, renewed the persecutions, because the Catholics would not put down a sum equivalent to what he had

spent to purchase the Patriarchal dignity. This state of things was protracted for a century, during which the poor Armenian Catholics had to be subject to schismatic Patriarchs, who, ever avaricious and simoniacal, imprisoned and tortured them in virtue of the powers given them by Mahomet II. At the close of 1714 the Catholics tried to emancipate themselves by demanding a Patriarch of their own, but their opponents were too strong for them. At length, after a final struggle under Mahmud II., through the mediation of the King of France and the Emperor of Austria, they made their voices heard. A responsible head was accorded to them in 1829, elevated to the rank of Primate by Pius VIII. on July 5, 1830, and joined to the Patriarchate of Cilicia by Pius IX. on July 12, 1867.

Louis XV., when he succeeded to the French throne, followed the example of his predecessors in regard to the protection of the missions of the Franciscan Capuchins, who were missionaries apostolic and exercised parochial functions. In a letter from Versailles, dated March 1, 1724, he expresses the satisfaction which the Capuchins by their zeal, piety and conduct had given, not only confirming and maintaining the royal protection accorded to them on November 25, 1687, but helping them to extend the sphere of their labors "to the glory of God and the consolation of the faithful;" giving commands to that effect to the French Ambassador, consuls and vice consuls, specially charged to safeguard the hospices, churches, chapels and convents of the Capuchins, who were not to be molested by any one in their missionary work; and likewise requesting the Turkish governors to give them every protection and assistance. The French protection was of the utmost importance, as the Janissaries very often acted like the pretorians in the last days of the Roman Empire. There were frequent tumults leading to bloodshed, to the death of the Grand Vizier and to the deposition of Acmet III. (October 16, 1730.) Under Mahmud I. there was a reaction when the revolutionaries or mutineers were severely punished. Incendiary fires were of frequent occurrence; under Acmet there were 140 and the city was rebuilt five times.

When Charles III., of Naples, following the example of France, established a college near the Capuchins in Galata, the house there, the first dwelling of the Capuchins, after being 157 years in their possession, passed, in 1783, into other hands, purchased by the Vicar Apostolic of Constantinople, Monsignor Franchia.

For a long time the lack of trustworthiness, tact and honesty of many interpreters in the employ of the French Embassy and Consulate was lamentable. They had to correspond with the natives, destitute of civil and literary education, and many could scribble and read a little Turkish. Their task was of the greatest importance,

as they had to treat of the most delicate affairs with the Porte. On November 17, 1669, the King of France issued an edict directing that dragomans or interpreters should be competent Frenchmen nominated by an assembly of merchants and sworn in presence of the Consul; and that to be sure in future of their fidelity, six boys of nine or ten should be sent to Constantinople and Smyrna every three years and placed in the Capuchin convents to be educated and instructed in the Catholic religion and in languages. So one college was established at Smyrna and another at Constantinople, an annual pension of 300 francs being allocated for each boy, the number of the boys being increased from six to twelve in 1718. The results that followed were most satisfactory. From 1710 to 1726 the Capuchin College of St. Louis furnished for the service of the nation forty-three youths, mostly French, who were an honor to their teachers and to the order. This institution existed up to the close of the Napoleonic régime. The Capuchins also devoted themselves to the study of local dialects. Father Bernard, of Paris, published an Italian and Turkish vocabulary and a French and Turkish dictionary, while another father compiled a dictionary of French, Turkish and Greek.

The French Revolution, in its devastating fury demolishing all that the monarchy had raised or created, seriously endangered the Custody of Greece. There being no longer Provincials in France, the Custos, Father Hubert, of Amiens, was nominated (1797) Prefect Apostolic of the missions of the Archipelago, Asia Minor and Constantinople, an office he filled until his death in 1813. They had a hard time of it. The French Capuchins were insulted by their own countrymen. With the destruction of the Provinces the missions decayed. Galata, Andros and Milo were abandoned. The great mission of Candia was reduced to a single missioner. In Canea the convent was attacked and the church profaned. The religious remained in Athens until the Consul hunted them out.

Pending the arrival at Constantinople in 1793 of Citizen Descorehes, the representative of revolutionized France, Father Hubert, the Custos, had to assume the foreign protectorate in order to save the missions confided to him. In 1796 General Aubert Dubayet arrived as Ambassador in the East. Both were hostile to the missions. The latter asked the Sultan to confirm him in his rights as Ambassador of France and protector of the Catholic religion in Constantinople and the Levant, but it was with a malignant intention, for, as soon as he obtained his object, he hastened to declare that a portion of the church should be changed into a barrack for French soldiers. There was a time when they apprehended a general confiscation, as in France, but it did not ensue. Then the courageous Prefect,

Father Hubert, addressed a strong letter to the Ambassador to show him what were the duties of the Catholic protectorate, and demanded the reinstatement of the missionaries in Athens. General Dubayet was moved and took the Custos' recommendations to heart. In a letter to the Consul at Athens he upheld the right of France to protect Catholicism in the East. The Holy See, no longer relying upon French protection, in 1803 Propaganda directed Father Hubert not to ask for it, the Pope begging the Sultan to protect the Catholics in his Empire. This was like putting the lamb in the wolf's mouth. They were troublous times for religion in France and the missions in the Mediterranean.

Other grave dangers menaced the missions. Napoleon I., unable to invade England, thought of attacking its colonial possessions through the conquest of Egypt, for which, on the 19th of May, 1798, he embarked with a force of 30,000 picked troops. Turkey hotly resented this and swore vengeance against the French. All French subjects in the East, all the churches, religious institutions and mission property were in great danger. St. Polycarp's, in Smyrna, was menaced by the Greeks; the convent of Scio was lost, that of Athens closed for three years; and the very lives of the missionaries were imperiled. They were constrained to have recourse to foreign protection, the Capuchins trusting to Austria and Spain, which was leaning upon broken reeds. It was only after the conclusion of peace in 1801, and particularly after the Concordat with the Holy See, when France became outwardly, at least, Christian, that the French protectorate was effectively resumed. The decree restoring public worship and official religious festivals was taken advantage of by Father Hubert to improve the situation. A man of great energy and extraordinary courage, the last Custos and first Prefect of Constantinople, seeing this mission which his brethren of Paris had maintained for 206 years on the point of extinction, he did everything to preserve it. But where was he to find subjects to keep up the supply of missions? France had no longer any. Propaganda sent as many Italian Capuchins as it could and later some Spaniards; but the ambassadors and representatives of France wanted French religious, the French Government being wishful of extending its influence in the East by means of missionaries. The reconstruction, under the auspices of the Bishop of Valence, of a community of five Capuchins at Crest, a small village of the Drôme, inspired a hope that the mission would be saved and that new French missionaries would soon be sent to the East. The Ministry allowed them to wear the habit publicly on condition that they did not call themselves Capuchins, but "Franciscan Missioners of the Levant" and their house "Seminary of St. Francis of Assisi for the Missions of the Levant."

The superior, Father Archangel, despite his eighty-five years of age; Father Michelangelo, aged seventy-six, and a young religious who had lately joined the order, volunteered out of the small community of five; but only the two latter went, Father Michelangelo getting the title of Prefect. The other, Father Bonaventure, discouraged, returned to France, and Father Michelangelo died after two years, succumbing to fatigue and infirmity. Father Alexis, of Arras, followed and spent eight years in Constantinople, being the last French chaplain at the Embassy. For fifty years after 1830, Italian fathers served the mission of St. Louis. The last Prefect, Father Salvatore, of Graniti, died in 1887, when that title was abolished.

In 1863 the mission acquired the parish of San Stefano, or St. Stephen, a delightful village on the shores of a small bay in the Sea of Marmora, an hour's train journey from Constantinople. It has a very important ancient and modern history. Of Christian origin, it has always been inhabited by Greeks and Catholics, the Ottoman element being represented by only a few families. In 1200 it had a chapel called St. Stephen's; hence the name of the village. It is said that the body of the Proto-martyr of Jerusalem was being brought from Jerusalem to Rome when the vessel containing it was dashed against this part of the little bay where it was landed. But this seems difficult to account for, as in going from Jerusalem to Rome the ship would not take this course, unless it was making first for Byzantium. In any case, what is certain is that the history of the Crusades makes mention of San Stefano. It is related that when in 1200 the Franco-Venetian crusaders arrived near Constantinople they held a council of war in the little Greek church or convent of San Stefano to deliberate on the taking of the city. There now exists a little Greek church entirely rebuilt in 1844, served by a Greek priest; but the monastery no longer exists. In 1878 San Stefano witnessed the conclusion of peace which ended the Russo-Turkish War, when 200,000 Russian soldiers were encamped there. The Capuchin convent was not taken military possession of, but their houses were inhabited by Russians, one being turned into a police barrack and a prison. The convent chronicle records that some of the Polish soldiers, among whom was a doctor, died there and were buried with Catholic rites in the Capuchin cemetery, and after some years disinterred and removed to a little village called Galataria, where a superb monument was erected. The chronicle adds that the Polish soldiers gave a good example as Christians, frequenting the church and the sacraments, particularly at Easter, when their chaplain, with the assistance of Father Sebastian, gave Holy Communion to 3,000. In 1908 in San Stefano was held the first constitutional Turkish parliament. Two years afterwards it ordered the deposition

of the Sultan Abdul-Hamid, whom Gladstone denounced as "the great assassin." During the Balkan War (1912-1913) about 250,000 Turkish soldiers embarked at San Stefano, ill clad, ill fed and wholly insubordinate, and so ignorant that they did not know how to handle a rifle, to return after the sanguinary battle of Kirk-Kilisse and Lule-Burgao, wasted by fatigue, hunger and disease. The country became an immense lazarus-house, and from five to six thousand soldiers died and were buried there. The population was reduced to very few inhabitants; of the six hundred and odd Catholics there only remained half a score; the schools of the friars and Sisters were closed, and the Franciscan Seraphic Seminary was, by order of the French Ambassador, transferred to Constantinople. The guardian of the convent got the village disinfected.

The Most Reverend Father Peter, of Settingiano, the Capuchin Prefect-Apostolic, after taking over the Latin parish of San Stefano, founded by Monsignor Brunoni, Archbishop of Constantinople, built a new church, the present one, begun in 1865 and finished in 1866, at a cost of 47,000 francs. It was solemnly blessed on June 16, 1867, and is dedicated to the Proto-martyr, St. Stephen. During the earthquake of 1894 the roof fell, but its reconstruction made the church more beautiful than ever. In November, 1869, Father Peter was summoned to Rome and nominated procurator general of the missions, after laboring for thirty years in Constantinople, where, in August, 1870, he again occupied the post of Prefect, which he resigned in 1871, dying at Smyrna in 1885, at the advanced age of eighty, mourned by all.

In 1881 the Convent of St. Louis was again relegated to the French friars, that of San Stefano being attached to the Smyrna mission. In 1882, following the erection of the international novitiate of Buggia, near Smyrna, San Stefano became a preparatory college for aspirants to the order. In 1883 it became a house of studies for students of philosophy, when the seminary was transferred to Filippopoli, in Bulgaria. This convent underwent other transformations. In 1893 it again became a seminary-college, withdrawn from Filippopoli, and was later on added to the novitiate. The seminary remained at San Stefano until the suppression of the International Institute in December, 1912.

In 1831 a great fire consumed a large part of Pera, burning among other buildings the churches of St. Anthony and St. Louis. The missionaries took refuge in a portion of the convent spared by the flames, where they constructed a provisional chapel. The church was rebuilt by the French Government on condition that the Capuchins ceded a portion of their grounds. On the 1st of May, 1847, it was blessed by Father Maurus, of Leonessa, then prefect. In

1882, when the French Capuchins resumed possession of their former mission, they repaired the church, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs contributing 12,500 francs for that purpose.

The substitution of Italian for French fathers caused no disturbance in the work of the mission, of which the former were faithful continuators. In 1857 they instituted a tertiary congregation, which included Greek converts, French, English, Germans, Swiss and Italians, Father Peter, of Settingiano, in 1862, erected a confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Mary, although there already existed one of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, being very zealous for the propagation of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, her cultus being very popular in the East.

From the moment the Constantinople mission was occupied by Italian Capuchins the Ambassadors never ceased to urge the return of the French fathers, renewing their appeal as soon as the order was restored in Paris. Finally in 1880 Father Arsène, provincial of Paris, asked and obtained from the superiors of the order and the Holy See, with the concurrence of France, the concession of St. Louis of Pera and the return to the old state of things; his paternity undertaking to provide for the needs of the mission in quality of Prefect Apostolic. Accordingly, Father Marcellus, of Montaillé, and Father Lawrence, of Mans, on the 6th of March, 1881, took possession of the mission; the Italian friars, Fathers Salvatore (superior), Pietro, Cherubino and Francesco, showing that they had only one thought, one desire to make a cordial and regular consignment of everything, which they did on the 4th of May, when Father Marcellus became superior.

Their first care was to establish the regular observance and the second to restore the house and make it more suitable for a religious community. One of their most important undertakings was the establishment of a native clergy. Leo XIII. had exhorted all the priesthood of the East to work for the union of the churches. Now, one of the great means being the education of youth, and especially the training of a native clergy, well taught and fitted for the ministry, the superiors of the mission, remembering that at all times the house of St. Louis was a house of education, resolved to revive the old traditions from this point of view. The prefect then obtained from Propaganda a decree for the opening of a school devoted to the education of young clerics without distinction of rite. So the necessary preparations having been made, the Oriental Apostolic College of St. Louis was opened on the 4th of September, 1882. It receives grand seminarists of the Latin, Armenian, Chaldaic, Syriac and Bulgarian rites, numbering thirty-four. None of them pays any pension, but all are at the expense

of the mission. Besides intern there are extern students, who vary from fifteen to twenty and read a classical course. More than fifty of the seminarists have been raised to the priesthood. The teaching is that of the French seminaries where Latin, Greek and French are taught, only they pursue the study of their respective national languages, Turkish, Armenian, etc., and cultivate studies that appertain to the several rites.

To achieve such results the fathers of St. Louis had to employ more than their zeal and singular activity, all the administrative ability they had to sustain the new institution, confronted by insufficient funds. But works of charity may always rely upon the divine assistance, and this was not wanting in moments of great uncertainty. It was subsidized by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Institute of Schools of the East, while the French Government generously helped. The advantages already gained in 1883 secured the good will of the Ambassador, the Marquis de Noailles, who to testify his interest in the work presided at the quarterly examinations, and to signify his satisfaction most cordially received the pupils in his villa near the Bosphorus, donating a large number of books to the boys' library.

In 1885 the college was visited by the minister general, the Most Rev. Father Bernard, of Andermatt, who addressed words of praise and encouragement to the fathers and students.

The founder and first superior of this important college, which is bound to exercise a wide influence on the progress of Catholicism in the East, the Most Rev. Father Marcellus, of Montaillé, died on January 4, 1901, and his obsequies were fittingly solemnized on the 16th, the feast of St. Marcellus.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools in the College of St. Joseph at Kadi-Keni; the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul, particularly Sister Magdalen, foundress of the Municipal Asylum, and Sister Jane, superioress of the French Hospital; the nuns of the Third Order Regular, especially those of Paris, who have been helped by the magnanimity of the Duchess d'Estissac, and the Franciscan Sisters of Calais, in the Via Tom-Tom at Pera, have been of the greatest assistance to the advancement of religion and of the mission by their works, their zeal and their charity and deserve the name of Auxiliaries of Divine Providence.

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## EASTERN AND WESTERN ADOGMATISM AND THE FULLNESS OF CHRISTIAN REVELATION.

IF WE go back to the mainspring of all the heresies and schisms which have afflicted and torn asunder the Church of Christ, we shall see that they all came from a perversion of the human mind led astray either by new-fangled conceptions of Christian mysticism or by the groundless claims of stubborn rationalism. Either of these two evils lies at the very bottom of all the great subversions of Christianity which have worn out even the holiness and brilliant learning of some of its stars of the first magnitude. A visionary mysticism gave rise to the gnostic sects of the earliest Church, and in the Middle Ages to the fanciful dreams of the *Evangelium aeternum* of Joachim of Flora and to the ecstasies of the Greek Hesychasts. An ill-directed mysticism also brought to existence French Iansenism and recently Polish Mariavitism. Thus the history of mystical aberrations in the Christian Church clearly shows that it is not enough to love God. There is need also to love Him in accordance with the rules set for us by Christian revelation and by the supreme magisterium of the Church. Certainly the greatest mystics remarked with righteousness that the only measure and mode of loving God is to love Him *sine modo*, but that expression must be understood as concerning the powers of the human heart. However glowing you would conceive its love of God, the power of love is not exhausted. But even in loving God, and especially when love exerts its influence on the mind, we cannot overstep the barriers imposed on our understanding by divine revelation. We cannot substitute our human word for the word of God; we cannot boast of being possessed of such an inward illumination as to be able to break the bondage of our allegiance to the magisterium of the Church. A free mysticism, a mysticism which claims individual inerrancy and proclaims its independence in the realm of faith and spreads its illusions as wholesome truths and alloys them with the teaching of the Church—that mysticism, I say, sows tares among the wheat of the Divine Sower.

On the other hand, rationalism, by forcing the highest truths of revelation to fit within its grasp, squeezes them within the narrow boundaries of human reason and mixes them with human errors and human littleness. If there are limits beyond attainment in the mystical knowledge of God, there are also limits still more insuperable to the attempts of the rationalist invaders within the field of Christian revelation. The inner life of God, His ineffable mysteries, the secrets of His wisdom are out of the reach of our spiritual

eyes. What we know of God in a positive manner is taught to us by revelation. Without Christ, so far as our knowledge of God is concerned, we could not have received of its fullness. "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." (John i, 17, 18.) No one in this world can share in the divine prerogatives of the Incarnate Son of God. Pagan philosophy as well as Christian theology subscribe to the Aristotelian saying that we gaze at God with the eyes of bats. Whatever we do to break down the barriers which shut off from us the eternal heights of the divine wisdom is labor lost. And if at times we flatter ourselves of having attained our goal and open wide our eyes to see the breach we think we have made in those barriers, we are forced to concede that we have wasted our time and effort. After so much toil our sight is more dim, our eyes are more blind, our mind delirious. All the attempts of rationalism to humanize God, to dissect the truths of divine revelation with the scalpel of hyper-criticism, have resulted in lamentable failure. They have not explained the mysterious life of God; they have not built up a rational system on the debris of that Christian revelation which they boasted of having shattered to pieces; they have, it is true, succeeded in contaminating the purity of faith in many souls, but they have been unable to supersede the eternal truths of both the speculative and the moral order, when a handful of rude Disciples culled from the lips of the Saviour and handed down to men as the only source of their perennial and spiritual regeneration.

Just now, as well as in every age of Christian unity, divine revelation is the target of two classes of foes. One group looks upon it with a touch of superciliousness, as an inheritance unworthy of God; the other regards it as a burden unworthy of man. To the former Christian revelation is deficient and defective from above; consequently its alleged immutability and fullness is in fact a blasphemy against God, and it is as though the wisdom of God were sealed for ever by human hands. According to the second group, the infallible revelation of the Lord—as theologians officially call it—is a medley of divine and human elements, a barn gathering the wheat and the chaff, a bundle of fragrant flowers and noxious weeds. Like those of old, visionary mystics of to-day with thumbs reversed, *policie verso* are waiting for the last breath of worn-out and dying Christian revelation, and their eyes scan the wide horizon in search of a new emanation of the divine wisdom among men. No less gorgeous a sunset of Christian revelation is impatiently awaited by these rationalists who strive to convince themselves that

reason is going to strike a deathblow to evanescent Christian faith:  
*cacci tuera cela.*

Mystics who lay the axe at the roots of Christian revelation are to be found in the ranks of Eastern adogmatists: rationalists who aim eagerly at the same goal belong to the little host of Western Modernists. To the one, the fullness of Christian revelation is at a variance with the eternal fecundity of the divine life; to the other, the same fullness is a theological misconception, which is being battered by the historical testimonies of the past. Russian adogmatists believe that Christian revelation is a stage in the doctrinal evolution of the Divine Being, a transient flash in the ceaseless irradiation of God upon men. The Modernists, in turn, declare that Christian revelation, like the Hegelian Absolute, is to be found only in *Werden*, an incandescent nebula whose fires are extinguished or illuminated at one's ease by the skill of evolving and progressive reason. In the first case God the Father works against His Son. Still more, He decrees the dethronement of His beloved Son, in whom He is well pleased, and who came into the world as the true light of every man; in the second, men array themselves against God; with the scythe of criticism they cut down the best flowers of His gardens and strive to cover them with the shifting sands of the Egyptian deserts.

The Catholic Church, however, stands firm on the battlements of her rock against both foes. To visionary mysticism she answers that Heaven and earth shall pass, but the words of Christ shall not pass. (Matt. xxiv., 35.) To the proud rationalists she declares that she speaks not in the learned words of human wisdom. Her faith does not stand on the wisdom of men. She speaks the wisdom of God in mystery. (I. Cor. ii., 13, 5, 7.)

Russian adogmatism ought to be known and refuted by Western theologians, who have at heart the vital interests of Christianity. It is the substratum, the hidden foundations of the religious beliefs of the so-called Russian intelligentsia. It is a rationalism *sui generis*, tinted with the colors of a dazzling mysticism. In some respects it offers a striking resemblance to the main positions of Modernism. It goes farther, however, and in the end arrives at a full denial of the usefulness of Christian revelation. The Gods die, and the God Jesus Christ follows them into the oblivion of the grave. While the Modernists assert that they wish to preserve for the living experience of men the sacred deposit of Christian revelation, the Russian adogmatists aver that there are no longer verdant branches on the Christian stock; that the soil around it has become sterile. It is time to cut it down and cast it into the fire.

Russian adogmatism takes its source from the religious nihilism

of Tolstoi, which is stripped of any flavor or shade of mysticism whatsoever. Its teachers and systematizers hold a place of honor in the history of modern Russian literature. They are known and praised as poets, critics, novelists and philosophers. They are the leaders of the Russian *intelligentsia*. The chief representative of the school is Dimitrii Sergieevich Merezhkovskii, born in 1866.

The literary career of Merezhkovskii has passed through varied phases of influences and beliefs. He is a true evolutionist in literature, an inconstant and anxious mind, ever groping his way, tasting honey and poison alike throughout the gardens of literature. He has a special relish for paradoxical truisms. His pen has become venomous when it touches the mild and radiant figure of Christ. As he advances along the road towards the new world which he seeks, his feelings of hatred against the *eternal foe of the flesh* grow ever more bitter.

Yet the lawgiver of Russian adogmatism started his literary life with loftier aspiration and a deeply felt delicacy of sentiments. His first poems were brought to light in 1888. They made him famous. Harping on the common note of all the best Russian writers, he sang of human sufferings, of the tears and sorrows of the humble and the oppressed. To his eyes darkness is spread over all created beings. The sun is weary of darting its rays on a sabled world. The fall of night wraps even the glorified body of the risen Saviour. He hears the first death-bell of Christian faith. "Christ is risen!" they sing loudly in the church. But I am sad. My soul is chilled in frozen silence. The earth is overflowed with tears and blood. The alleluia before the altars sounds as hollow as the sobbing of a mourner. What bitterest tears would Jesus have shed if He stood among us and witnessed the deadliest fruits of centuries of a brilliant civilization and the endless hatred of brethren arrayed against brethren and the wiles of men against men. "Alleluia, alleluia," they sing in the church. When there will be neither masters nor slaves, when there will be no stones of maledictions launched against each other, when there will be no din of swords, when there will be no clatter of chains, then, only then, I shall strike up the anthem of liberty: "*Christ has risen! Alleluia!*" and the whole world will answer: "Alleluia, truly the Christ has risen."<sup>1</sup>

In another book of verses issued in 1892 the note of religious despair is accentuated; his lyre strings with a hopeless skepticism. He feels discouraged at the sight of the lamentable divisions of Christianity. His confidence fades away. He begins to turn his

<sup>1</sup> "Stikhotvoreniiia" (Poems). Petrograd, 1888, pp. 71-72.

eyes away from the decaying kingdom of Christ. To his spiritual shortsightedness the world slides even from the grasp of the Catholic Church, and he cries over the ruins of the Christian Rome: "Rome the embodiment of the world's unity! At the beginning, when it was a republic, an iron spirit of freedom welded all its tribes. Freedom perished and the astute Cæsars, with the mirage of beneficent aims, bent all the world beneath the yoke of eternal Rome. The Rome of the Cæsars crumbled down and in the name of the Almighty the Church of Christ strove to gather all men within the nave of St. Peter's. Alas! Following in the steps of pagan Rome, Christian Rome has also expired. The faith she preached has evaporated and vanished from the hearts of the faithful. Now I am roving disheartened through dead ruins. Shall we never be able to discover a faith which would blend together peoples and nations? Where art thou, O unknown God? Where are thou, O future Rome?"<sup>2</sup>

His despair of the world and his yearning for new forms of religious life turned him to a pantheistic conception of Divinity. Nature appears to him not as a shrine of God, but as God Himself. "Oh Lord," sings his lute, "I thank you for enabling me to see the world, Thy eternal temple. I thank you for the dazzling and rapid vision of Thy marvels. I thank you for all I have reached with my heart, for all the stars discover to my eyes. Everywhere, everywhere, I feel Thee, O Lord. In the calmness of the silent night, in the far-distant celestial bodies, in the depths of my soul. I am athirst after Thee, O Lord! I did not know Thee; I could not believe in Thee, and loving Thee, my reason denied Thee. It is with my heart that I feel Thee. Thou hast revealed Thyself to me. Thou art the universe, the creation. Thou art heaven and sea; Thou art the whiz of the hurricane, the ether, the genius of the bard, the beaming star. I pray to Thee, I love Thee, I breathe Thee. When living I yearn for Thee. At my death, I shall melt in Thee, like the stars that glide down and dwindle away with the morning aurora. I wish my life might be an everlasting prayer, a thankful adoration of Thy heart, night and day, through life and in death."<sup>3</sup>

In 1895 Merezhkovsky became an admirer of the literary moods of Edgar Allan Poe. Shortly afterwards he felt the glamour of the pagan conception of life. The spirit of paganism permeates and throngs all the pages of his blasphemous novel, "Julian the Apostate," a withering invective against Christianity tortured and engaged in the fiercest struggle with its inward and outward foes.

<sup>2</sup> "Simvol." Petrograd, 1892, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

Later on he dipped his pen into the slime of pestilential materialism. He began to hurl his most poisonous shafts against Christian virginity and to scoff at Christian asceticism. At last he heralded the credo of a new religion: "Come forward, O prophets of a new world; come forward, O high-spirited bards. We are lonesome: We have no followers: we are those who forlornly sacrifice to God." He declared himself ready to burn what he had adored, to violate and trample on foot all the laws which rule the present-day social and religious life; to revive on the altar the long buried idols of Pagan Olympus,<sup>4</sup> and while hailing their return, he reviles the divine teaching of Jesus Christ and distorts the most brilliant pages of the history of His civilizing influence among men. At times his writings exhale the mephitic odors of the *Fleurs du mal* of Charles Baudelaire; at times his lyre vies with that of Gabriele d'Annunzio in praising the impure graces of Venus. And in all the productions of his literary talents a layer of Nietschean thought hides at the very bottom of his theories and paradoxes. His imagination is haunted by the evanescent phantom of the *Uebermensch*, of the divinized man, who will crumble to dust the Gods of a heaven that has been beyond the reach of human beings.

Russian adogmatism starts with the principle of the Manichean dualism. The incurable tragedy of human life centres around the struggle between God and Satan, Christ and the Anti-Christ, good and evil, between the spirit and the flesh. Christianity wavers between two opposite poles. It has served to deepen the chasm between them both. It has asserted the holiness of the spirit at the cost of that of the flesh; it has opposed one to the other. Under its sway the incorporeal has been declared pure, good and holy, whereas the corporeal has been branded as impure, diabolical, sinful. Christianity has proclaimed the antithesis between spirit and flesh. To Jesus asceticism is a means to the goal, the wings of the soul in its lofty strains towards higher and higher summits. To Christianity, as it has been poorly shaped by the unskilled hands of men, asceticism is a goal. The resurrection of the flesh lost all vital bearings on living men. It became a stiffened dogmatic truth, a lifeless torso, shrivelled up in the remotest corner of a museum. The standard-bearers of historical Christianity forgot that the mystery of Golgotha followed after that of Bethlehem. In his divine birth Jesus Christ took a human form, thus lifting it to the highest degree of nobility. The flesh of the Incarnate Son of God

<sup>4</sup> N. Engelhardt, "Istoriia russkoi literatury XIX. stolietiia" ("History of Russian Literature in the Nineteenth Century"). Petrograd, 1915, Vol. II., pp. 607-608.

<sup>5</sup> "Novii Put." Petrograd, 1904. Vol. I., pp. 280-281.

is as real as His divinity. The Church anathematizes the ancient and modern heresies which tear off from Him His garment of human flesh.<sup>5</sup> Christ taught the perfect equality between spirit and flesh. The Church, the blossom of His life, consists in a harmonious blending of a sanctified flesh and of a sanctified spirit. Christ established the synthesis between them both. He was the maker of a spiritual flesh,<sup>6</sup> and this flesh has been shrouded by the vapid teachings of historical Christianity.

The Absolute shows Himself to us according to the rules of the reasoning mind; that is in unveiling Himself to us He follows the laws of the dialectical process. The synthesis of two opposite principles (thesis and antithesis) could be effected if we did not know that the opposition between them is a real one. Any evolution whatever must outlive three objective moments, which in turn correspond to three subjective moments in the logical process. The three objective moments are the above mentioned terms of *thesis*, *antithesis* and *synthesis*. They find three correlative subjective moments in the religious evolution of man. The first embraces all the religious beliefs prior to Christianity. Their common and unconscious foundation is pantheism. All is God, *Pan* and God is in all. In the second moment, the antithesis, Christianity opposes the object to the subject, the personal to the impersonal. The third moment of the religious evolution, which is already dawning, coincides with the revelation of the Spirit, which harmoniously blends both the revelations of the Father and of the Son. It is the synthesis of the gradual development of the religious consciousness in man.

Hence it follows that the history of religious thought discloses to us an evolution in the Blessed Trinity. The Father is at the lowest ebb of the evolving tide of the Divine Being. It represents the Cosmos, the rudimentary stage of the religious consciousness, the deified and idolized nature. The Son has achieved the religious revival of the human race. His days, however, are numbered. The present-day critics have weighed Him in their balances and found Him wanting. Our duty now is to throw down the iron gates which arrest the onward march of the Spirit. We need to clear from His road the ruins of decaying churches; to drain the stagnant waters from the marshes of an effete and superstitious worship.

From the chaos of Godhead, *thesis*, by means of an analytical process, religious thought has reached Christianity, the *antithesis*, as a bridge leading it to the harbor of salvation, the *synthesis*. The

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<sup>6</sup> "Religion A. Tolstogo i Dostoevskago." Petrograd, 1903; Vol. II., pp. 12-13.

Old Testament embodies the religion of God in the world; the New Testament the religion of God in man; the third Testament, whose first page is being written, opens the era of the religion of God in humanity. The Father incarnated Himself in the world. He is the Cosmos. Jesus Christ incarnated Himself in the Logos. The Spirit will incarnate Himself in the Divine Humanity. Therefore, it is our duty to hasten the day of that new Incarnation and Revelation; it is our duty to renounce our allegiance to the Son of God. Christ ought to be obliterated, His name to be canceled from the book of life. The weary world of to-day has already set to work to achieve its apostasy from Him.<sup>7</sup> As soon as the kingdom of Christ will have been shattered to pieces and His banner lowered, the Spirit will come to our rescue.

With Basil Vasilevich Rozanov, the little host of Russian adogmatists mourn over the failure of Christianity in its attempts to solve the enigmas of human life. Christianity has bribed with its promises the souls athirst for God. Its waves dashed to futile spray when they met the hardy rocks of unbiased criticism. It gave no answer to the torturing problem of the after life. The mystery of evil is still wrapped in an impenetrable veil. The Redemption is far from being achieved. Men are still searching in darkness for the living Redeemer.<sup>8</sup> Christianity has lost the savor of that salt wherewith the earth shall be salted.<sup>9</sup> Its fatal mistake consists in taking the Gospel as the expression of the Divine thought instead of applying it to life as the realization of God. It has looked upon the revealed word of the Son with the eyes of the mind rather than with those of the heart.<sup>10</sup> It has transformed the living community of faithful into a sombre monastery. It lacks the tenderness of a family loving mother.<sup>11</sup> We need, therefore, a new type of Christianity after the gradual failures of Western Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Protestantism. The leavening principle of the New Church, the Joannine Church, will be love. John alone, who reposed on the breast of the Saviour, knew in its fullness the mystery of love, of universal love. Hence the Joannine Church will be the Church of the second advent of Christ, the Church of the newest religious evolution of our race.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> E. Lundberg, "Merezhevskii i ego novoe Khristianstvo" ("Merezhevsky and His New Christianity"). Petrograd, 1914; pp. 137-138.

<sup>8</sup> "Novii Put," 1903. Vol. X., p. 201.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 1904; Vol. XII., p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> "Zapiski Peterburgskago religiozno-filosofskikh sobranii" ("Reports of the Religious and Philosophical Meetings of Petrograd"). Petrograd, 1906; p. 472.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 478.

Russian adogmatism, as our exposition clearly shows, aims at a final obliteration of Christianity. From a pantheistic conception of the Godhead it rushes to a transient stage of religious consciousness, the idea of a divinized man whom metaphorically they call the Son of God, and in the last resort they slumber in the golden dream of the Superman. The secret spring of the dislike of dogmas on the side of Russian adogmatists is their ethical, or rather unethical, conception of life. They insinuate that Christianity has outgrown only because it preaches the abatement of the flesh and the exaltation of the spirit, because it spiritualizes the sensual man, because it appeases the inner conflict of our spiritual yearnings and fleshly instincts. The ethics of Merezhkovsky have no place for the Christian solution of that ever growing conflict within us. According to him, the world here below is the arena where the duel between spirit and flesh ought to be interrupted, to be brought to an end, not by the final defeat of either, but by the olive branch of a lasting reconciliation. This logical outcome of the Eastern adogmatism is not an unheard of novelty in the history of the Catholic Church. The ascendancy of the flesh over the spirit is often the disastrous result of a perverted mysticism which oversteps the limits of sound Christian piety. It shows the deep truth of the saying of the French philosophers that while striving to be rivals of the angels we sink sometimes to the level of beasts. In a perverted mysticism it is not the spirit which overcomes the rebellion of the flesh, but the flesh which strangles the spirit with its poisonous fangs.

Akin to Russian adogmatism, Western Modernism leads its followers to the pretentious claims of a rationalistic mysticism. There is a spiritual growth in our religious consciousness. Its principle is engrafted on the innermost fibers of our heart; it circulates with the blood of our veins. Step by step it follows the wanderings of human generations; it does not arrest its energetic action even in the periods of our spiritual laziness. The Spirit of God lives and speaks and works unceasingly within us; rather, He has become a substantial element of our inner life. As the principle of our physical life transforms the size of man, his features and powers, so the principle of our religious life produces the multiples and varied phases of our religious evolution. There is neither fixity nor immobility in the outward signs and expressions and symbols of religious truths. Outside of men, religious truths, even those of the Christian revelation, live and die, flourish and wither. Their living force, their eternal elaboration, is achieved within us. Dogmas lack a constant element of inner vitality. Modernism subscribes to the truism of Auguste Sabatier: "To be fruitful, dogma must be

decomposed, that is to say, it must mix itself unceasingly with the evolution of human thought and die in it: it is the condition of a perpetual resurrection.”<sup>13</sup>

Dogmas, say the Modernists, live by an inner life, and they die at the moment they are touched by criticism. They are in a state of constant flux and evolution; they are subjected to the continual and secret working of a divine indwelling spirit.<sup>14</sup> God’s spirit is not tied to a single epoch or to a particular little group of persons, but is spread abroad over the ages and generations of humanity, ever furthering the perfection of His plan of redemption.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, revelation is elaborated by the inner powers of our spiritual life. “Revelation,” writes Tyrrell, “is a supernaturally imparted experience of realities, an experience that utters itself spontaneously in imaginative popular non-scientific form; theology is the natural, tentative, fallible analysis of that experience.” The Church’s divine commission is to teach and propagate a new life, a new love, a new hope, a new spirit and not the analysis of these experiences.<sup>16</sup> In each individual the Christian spirit manifests itself in some new and particular aspects, never twice the same. It is by the social interchange and composition of these ceaseless and varying manifestations that a corporate mind is formed.<sup>17</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn from the theory of the working out of the divine revelation by the indwelling spirit is that Christian revelation is *substantially* progressive. It assimilates to itself, in each century, the newly born elements of new religious experiences and drops away the withered leaves of a dead past. It follows that the theory of the fullness of the Christian revelation, which was attained at the age of the Saviour and His Apostles, does not rest on a solid ground. According to Tyrrell, “the period of fullest enlightenment in the earliest age of Christianity is inconceivable on the hypothesis of a development of faith. All growth is from a formless germ to a plenitude of expansion, from the dimness of dawn to the light of perfect day. Its golden age is before it and not behind it; its criterion is its end, not its beginning.”<sup>18</sup> In man we have from the outset, a rudimentary conscience which feels the stirrings of an unknown God. A religious process follows, at the end of which man recognizes that the principle of his religious life is the Divine Spirit. Lastly, he identifies himself with that indwelling Spirit

<sup>13</sup> “Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion Based on Psychology and History.” New York, 1902; p. 242.

<sup>14</sup> “The Programme of Modernism.” New York, 1908; p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> “Mediævalism,” London, 1908; p. 129.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> “Christianity at the Cross Roads.” London, 1910; p. 26.

which is transcendent over nature.<sup>19</sup> In the first stage of religious experience in man we find a formless and adogmatic religion.<sup>20</sup> The influence of the indwelling Spirit gives rise to a dogmatic development, which is required by the necessity of finding theological formulas to foster the original religion of the Gospel.<sup>21</sup> Catholic dogma has sprung entirely from the need of setting experience in harmony with the mind of the age and the unchanging spirit of religion with the ever-varying expressions of thought.<sup>22</sup> The Church cannot escape the laws of a general evolution. "Everything in the history of Christianity has changed—doctrine, hierarchy, worship. But all these changes have been providential means for the preservation of the Gospel spirit, which has remained unchanged through the ages."<sup>23</sup>

If dogmas change, if they are only the husks of the divine revelation,<sup>24</sup> and dogmatic formulæ obsolete and socially pestilential elements,<sup>25</sup> theology, which deals with them, ought to be dethroned, from its royalty in the realm of learning. "It has been," writes Tyrrell, "a sword of division and a principle of disintegration.<sup>26</sup> We must clear up the roads of our spiritual life from theological wire-nettings. We must foster the development of our spiritual life." "With growth in the apprehension of spiritual values, the accidental outgrowths and the subsidiary by-products with which religion is still unfortunately confused and entangled, will disappear."<sup>27</sup> The dogmatic formulæ, according to A. Sabatier, who, though Protestant, has been the theorist of Modernism, are double dead to-day, either because civilization has advanced or because they were without vital connection with the initial Christian experience: they will fall from the tree like withered leaves or lifeless branches.<sup>28</sup> Modernists are waiting for the day when superstition will be cast aside and secularity abolished, and dogmatic formulæ will follow them,<sup>29</sup> and the full-grown man will better feel within himself a higher principle which gives him the right to amend and the power to increase, in some degree, the inheritance he has received from his fathers.<sup>30</sup> This day, the day of the *irrелигion de l'avenir*,

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>20</sup> "The Programme of Modernism," p. 79.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>24</sup> "Mediævalism," p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> "Programme of Modernism," p. 9. (A. Leslie.)

<sup>26</sup> "Mediævalism," p. 117.

<sup>27</sup> W. L. Sullivan, "Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X., by a Modern-ist," Chicago, 1910; p. 277.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., p. 268.

<sup>29</sup> Sullivan, p. 278.

<sup>30</sup> Sabatier, p. 264.

will mark the dawn of a religious revival of the human race. A French writer, who foresees the impending death of Christianity, rejoices at the event in the following terms: "Le jour où les religions positives auront disparu, il y aura moins de foi; mais plus de libre speculation; moins de contemplation, mais plus de raisonnement d'inductions hardies, d'elans actifs de la pensée; le dogme religieux se sera éteint, mais le meilleur de la vie religieuse se sera propagé, aura augmenté en intensité et en extension. Car celui-là seul est religieux, au sens philosophique du mot, qui cherche, qui pense, qui aime la vérité. Le Christ aura pu dire: je suis venu apporter, non la paix dans la pensée humaine, mais la lutte incessante des idées; non le repos, mais le mouvement et le progrès de l'esprit, non l'universalité des dogmes, mais la liberté des croyances, qui est la première condition de leur expansion finale."<sup>31</sup>

We have sketched as faithfully as possible the fundamental positions of both Eastern and Western adogmatism. Loyalty in setting forth the objections of his adversaries ought to be the distinctive trait of the Catholic apologist. If he is fully convinced of the truth of the Church, to which he belongs soul and body, he will never be afraid of the strategy of his foes. He will follow them on the same ground and turn against them their own weapons. He will never be blinded by the light of a criticism which rests upon prepossessions and leads to universal skepticism.

Eastern and Western adogmatism reach the same conclusion. The difference consists in this, that the former is more radical. Both sing a dirge over the corpse of Christian revelation. Eastern adogmatism thinks that Christ's teaching is to be sunk into oblivion by a systematic war waged against it. The Western does not go so far in its planned restoration of the religious spirit of man. It looks upon Christian revelation as a dead tree or a worm-eaten fruit. Christianity succumbs by a natural death. Both maintain that the dogmatic age of the Church is near its close. Either by violence or by a natural process of elimination, the religious spirit of man ought to free itself from its secular incrustations, from its dogmatic dross. Then it will get the elasticity of its movements, it will no longer drink from the exhausted wells of a barren scholasticism, "which confine our intellectual forces to the metaphysics of the Nicen theologians of the fourth century and of the Tridentine speculation of the sixteenth."

The champions of adogmatism verbally profess to cling to the belief of the divinity of Christ. Modernists declare that they have not overthrown that fundamental dogma of Christianity.<sup>32</sup> Russian

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<sup>31</sup> M. Guyau, "L'irreligion de l'avenir." Paris, 1890; p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> "The Programme of Modernism," p. 119.

adogmatists in turn point to the Divine Sonship of Jesus as to the main foundation of their apocalyptic mysticism. If they sincerely would admit the divinity of the Saviour there would be a link of connection between them and the Catholic apologists. It must be said, however, that their assertions are logically at variance with their premises. In fact, they have more than lessened the divine aureole of Jesus Christ; they have made of Him a human philosopher. One of the heralds of the new Christianity, Rudolph Eucken, says: "If Jesus is not God and Christ not the Second Person of the Trinity, then He is a man, not a man like any one of us, but still man. We may revere Him as a leader, a hero, a martyr, but we cannot forthwith bind and pledge ourselves to Him and yield Him unconditional submission."<sup>33</sup> Yet, even in this case, even if we were forced to keep silent before the executioners of the Divinity of our Lord, His word would not cease being the most authoritative which man has ever propounded. Jesus "is the centre of the eternal religion of humanity," says Renan. "His life and works make His divinity resplendent before our eyes." "He is the keynote of the harmony of all truth," declares Schelling.<sup>34</sup> "the true symbol of heavenly wisdom," according to Spinoza.<sup>35</sup> A historian, whose impartiality is above suspicion, writes of Jesus as follows: "It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which through all the changes of eighteen centuries has filled the hearts of men with an impassioned love, and has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions, and has not only been the highest pattern of virtue, but the highest incentive to its practice, and has exerted so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and than all the exhortations of moralists. This has been the wellspring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft, the persecutions and fanaticisms which have defaced the Church, it has preserved in the character and example of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration."<sup>36</sup> It follows, then, that either the Son of God or the most perfect of men, Jesus Christ, speaks a language which stirs all hearts and enlightens all minds. We feel that we must believe in His words rather than in the utterances of all the greatest human thinkers. And when we attempt to touch with our criticism His Church, and to discuss the fate, the inner life, the doctrinal inheritance of His religion, we must consult Him, we

<sup>33</sup> "Can We Still Be Christians?" New York, 1914; p. 34.

<sup>34</sup> W. E. H. Lecky, "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne." New York, 1873; Vol. II., p. 8.

must hear the explanations of His lips, we must interrogate those who have conversed with Him, who, according to St. John, with their hands have handled the word of life. (St. John i., 1.)

We cannot prefer the vagaries of men to the testimonies of Jesus Christ. We cannot say that the light of the sun is less bright than that of a gas lamp; that the brilliancy of a diamond is less vivid than that of a false gem. Therefore, if the words of Christ have more value than the sophistries of human scholarship, we must judge of His revelation according to His words. No one can deny Him that right. He is the Founder of Christianity. The wisdom which He revealed to His fellow-men was drawn from the bosom of the Father. (St. John i., 18.) He gave His imprint to the Church which He cemented with His blood. He spoke not only of the little host of His disciples, of the nascent kingdom of His glory, but of a Church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. (Matt. xvi., 18.) It would be absurd to affirm that many centuries after His death, when His prophecies have been realized and His name has conquered the adoration of all peoples and His doctrine has confounded the pride of the wise, nay, it would be absurd to affirm that the to-day teachers know His secret thoughts and aims better than His Apostles, and are able to draw of Him a portrait which makes Him unknowable to His adorers through centuries. Certainly, criticism is a corrosive atmosphere in the realm of human opinions, but it is powerless when misused against the spiritual rock of Christian truth, which is Jesus Christ our Lord. (I. Cor. iii., 11; II. Cor. x., 14.) Let us first refute the paradox of A. Sabatier: "The principle of Christianity is not a theoretical doctrine: it is a religious experience, the experience of Christ and His disciples through centuries." In truth the revelation of Christ is a theoretical one, and it embraces all the organs and elements of our life, soul and body, heart and mind. It uplifts our intellectual as well as our moral being. It is the most perfect utterance of God to man. Of course, the treasures of the Divine Wisdom are not exhausted by the word of Christ. But what our Saviour revealed to us of the secrets of His Father suffices to carry on the plan of our supernatural and moral regeneration.

The fullness of Christian revelation is vouchsafed to us by Jesus Christ Himself. From His lips we learn that the words He spoke to men are so perfect as to exclude any further revelation. He opposes the ancient law to the new as an imperfect code of laws to a perfect one, as an imperfect manifestation of the Godhead to a clearer vision of Him. He is the supreme master (Matt. xxiii., 10). Before Him man was under a pedagogue. He has freed us from our bondage to Him. (Galatians iii., 25.) As a master of all generations, Jesus Christ fulfills His mission in the fullness of time

(Galatians iv., 4). He speaks as the Son of God, who manifests Himself in the last time (I. Peter i., 20), who accomplishes Himself the time and lays the foundations of the kingdom of God (Mark i., 15). He is the fulfillment of the laws and of the prophets (Matt. v., 17), His advent marks the end of the law (Rom. x., 4).

As Redeemer of those who were under the law (Galatians iv., 5), He made known to His Apostles all things whatsoever He heard of His Father (St. John xv., 15). He became the chief corner-stone of an immovable kingdom (Eph. ii., 20; Hebr. xii., 28). He made His disciples rich in all utterance and in all knowledge (I. Cor. i., 5). He made them full (II. Cor. iv., 8). Nothing is wanting to them in any grace (I. Cor. i., 7). His spiritual building belongs exclusively to Him. Other foundation no man can lay but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus (I. Cor. iii., 11). Hence it follows that His doctrinal inheritance needs no further additions by men. The kingdom of Christ is an eternal one, and He must reign until He has put all His enemies under His feet (I. Cor. xv., 25). The duty of men, who by Him became new creatures (II. Cor. xv., 17), consists in keeping the good things committed by Him to His ambassadors (II. Tim. iii., 14), to be confirmed in them (Col. ii., 7). The Gospel of Christ is not according to man (Gal. i., 11). The Apostles did not receive it of man nor did they learn it. They drew it from the revelation of Jesus Christ (*Ibid.*, 12).

We have, therefore, a body of doctrines which we have bequeathed of Jesus. It contains the truths to which we must obey (Gal. iii., 1). They are not tossed to and fro and finally submerged by the ever changing waves of individual experience. Those who attempt to alter the legacy of Christ are deceitful workmen. They preach another Christ, they preach a gospel different from that of Christ, and therefore they are under anathema (Gal. i., 8, 9). Far from leaving the words of His divine wisdom scattered into the countless rivulets of human experiences, Jesus Christ by the mouth of the Apostle recommends to His Disciples to speak all the same thing and be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment (I Cor. i., 8).

The above quotations leave no doubt as to the mind and will of the Saviour. He strongly asserts the unchangeableness of His teaching, He sets it forth as the word of God, He condemns the seducers of His Disciples, He claims the everlasting duration of His kingdom, which is laid on the foundations of His teaching. Therefore, whether Christian or not, we ought to believe in His promises, for Jesus Christ alone has realized the paradox of a doctrine which has exerted the most beneficent influence on all generations,

ages and races. Great thinkers, philosophers and moralists have existed. We exalt their genius, we respect their memory, we pore over their writings, we rest on their authority. Yet no one of them has ever exerted the ceaseless, powerful, regenerating influence of Jesus Christ. Even disregarding for the moment His miracles and the warrants of His divinity during His earthly life—the diffusion of His Gospel, the spreading of His teaching throughout the world, its ascendancy over the best and holiest souls, according to the divine poet, are the greatest marvel accomplished by Him:

“Se il mondo si rivolse al cristianesmo, Diss’io, senza miracoli, quest’uno E’tal, che gli altri non sono il centesmo.” (Par. xxiv., 106-108.)

We have, therefore, the most solid reasons to believe in the words of Jesus Christ when He says to us that He has brought to men the fullest knowledge of God; that men will never see a destroyer of His kingdom; that the foes of His Gospel are seducers who transform themselves into His apostles (II. Cor. xi., 13). Our belief is not the outcome of a blind adoration, for Jesus Christ and His Apostles have sealed their teaching with the blood of their martyrdom. The Gospel has been the perennial and regenerative force of mankind, the inexhaustible source of our moral and spiritual life. Even in the eye of His adversaries Jesus Christ is the highest pattern of perfection which has ever been exhibited to our imitation and adoration. We cannot explain that marvelous influence of Our Saviour. His victories over our fiercest instincts, without admitting in Him something which is superhuman. When, therefore, He assures us that His teaching shares in that stability which is the characteristic trait of the word and work of God, we do not violate the laws which rule our understanding if we believe in His assurances, and our belief is not the outcome of ignorance or superstition.

Jesus Christ affords to us the evidence and assurance required to confirm the truth of His doctrine, and they are stamped on the pages of the history of the Christian Church. When, therefore, new prophets arise and new “reformers” of Christianity raise their voices against the doctrinal inheritance of the Saviour, we have a right to ask for their credentials. And, first, do they speak that language which, as the language of Christ, holds captive learned and uneducated, civilized and uncivilized, and which touches a chord in the hearts of men both of greatest or slightest intellect, of greatest or lowest moral elevation?

No, certainly not. The founders of the new religion diverge from each other even in their main doctrinal positions. They are

champions of license, not freedom. They claim for their tinselied fallacies the glory of truth, yet for them truth is a phantom slipping from their grasp. Whatever else may be true, it is a fact that shifting opinions cannot vitalize the mightiest inner powers of man. A man can die for the sake of the truth, not for his attachment to an opinion which follows the ups and downs of popular caprice, and he will reform his life and sacrifice his aspirations for the sake of truth, but not because of any attachment to another man no less fallible than himself. The influence of the truth is linked closely to its stability. An unstable "truth" is in the last analysis an error, and error is sterile in both the intellectual and moral life.

Now, precisely because she is the creation of Jesus, the Church claims stability for her teaching. Rudolph Eucken wrote that with Catholicism the last word is stability and the eternal truth is held in bondage to a temporal power.<sup>35</sup> The statement, though false in its second part, is true in its premise. The fact that the last word of the Church is stability means that it is conscious of the full possession of truth. As those laws which rule our understanding cannot be changed without paralysis of our reasoning powers, so the principles of our revealed knowledge of God, viz., dogmatic formulæ, cannot be canceled or obliterated without the Church being stripped of her vital energies and deprived of the fountain source of life. The doctrinal stability of the Church does not, however, bring forth the bondage of the eternal truth to a created mind. It is the Church itself, it is Christian thought which is in bondage with regard to the eternal truth. The doctrinal stability of the Church is the immediate consequence, not the efficient cause of the stability of that eternal truth, of which she is the keeper and guardian. It is from it that the Church derives the permanency of her intellectual life, and establishes a link of continuity between the past and the present, between the dead and the living generations. It is because of that stability that the centuries of her history have been the rings of a chain, tightly holding each other. A Church which would fit its credo to the changeable and capricious taste of men and times would inevitably break its vital continuity. We would have as many churches as there are philosophical systems, ceaselessly being devised by the restless spirit of man.

There is another reason for which we repudiate the new gospel and the new Church of our adogmatists. By their contempt of "metaphysical formulæ," of "barren theological axioms," of a "lifeless scholasticism," they indicate that they are planning a new code of morality. Christian ethics rather than Christian metaphysics have

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<sup>35</sup> Op. cit., p. 200.

value in their eyes. They want to supersede the moral influence of Christ. They boast of being able to improve the moral life of man which Christianity has stiffened by its ascetic aspirations. It is an indisputable fact that the ethical teaching of Christ, and still more His examples, have been the most powerful incentive to a higher standard of life. The few philosophers who have suggested their own conduct for the imitation of their followers have failed to exert a lasting influence after their death. On the contrary, the regenerative influence of the Saviour never ceased to blossom and fructify. What St. John the Baptist said of Him that he was not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe, is the voice of all the moralists who have been acquainted with His teachings and aims. So Lecky wrote: "The brief record of three short years of active life have done more to soften and regenerate mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and than all the exhortations of moralists." Jesus Christ did not preach only the word of His mouth; He preached also the most convincing word of His examples. He was not a theorist soaring over the clouds of barren speculation; rather was he the mighty power transforming souls, evoking legions of men and women ready for extreme self-sacrifice and laying full claim to all we are and all we have. Everywhere and always He enlists armies of followers and adorers of His divinity. Now, that marvelous influence cannot be explained without admitting that He is a manifestation of the divine in the sphere of the human

On the contrary, the apostles of the new religion, the soothsayers of the death of Christianity, roam within the plane of mere fancy. Their lives do not show anything which may attract to them the veneration or, at least, the respect of their fellow-men. Their teaching lacks the power of achieving a moral regenerating. The aim of Christian ethics consists in the spiritualization of the flesh, a spiritualization which is to be attained by the crushing of our passion and by the entire submission of the carnal to the spiritual. The distressing conflict between the spirit and the flesh will never cease in the very depths of our being. "The good which I will, I do not; but the evil which I will not, that I do" (Hebrews vii., 19), wrote the Apostle, whereas, the pagan poet in turn pointed to that conflict by saying of himself and of all men: "*Video bona proboque Deteriora sequor.*"

A reconciliation between these two eternal foes is a chimera. Holiness and moral perfection are the patrimony of the spiritual, not of the carnal man. The more we free ourselves from the burden of our flesh, from our body of death, from the law of sin, the nearer our soul will approach God, enter into fellowship with Him

and realize in Himself the embodiment of the genuine superman. Instead of spiritualizing the flesh, the optimistic preachers of affinity between spirit and flesh serve only to materialize the spirit; their wisdom, the wisdom of the flesh, is death, according to the Apostle, and they who are in the flesh cannot please God. (Rom. viii., 6. 8.)

From what we have said, it follows that we cannot substitute the passing words of human wisdom for the eternal law of Jesus. The Saviour has afforded to us the royal proofs of His mission, whereas, His objectors and foes merely display an empty show of words. We feel that a doctrine which in its stability has been a principle of regenerative influence in spite of all political and social evolutions, in spite of the crumbling of kingdoms and empires and wonderfully constituted institutions, we feel that that doctrine contains a germ of a perennial life; that every attempt to deface it, to alter its features, to bedeck it with the tinsel of human learning would exhaust its vitality, extinguish its light and mar its beauty. Let us deny the divinity of Jesus Christ and His personality becomes the most puzzling and unsolvable enigma in history. Let us also deny the stability of His doctrine and His marvelous and creative influence on human hearts would be inexplicable.

When, therefore, the Catholic Church is urged to tinker with her creed, to rejuvenate her dogmatic formulæ, to fit herself and her doctrinal garment to the fashions of the time being, it is no wonder if she answers that request with a stronger, a more solemn and explicit profession of faith. Of course, the Church responds in unessentials to the so-called "spirit of the time," for in her life the divine is blended with the human. Her love is not lacking in indulgence, in charity, in tender care for the spiritual and moral welfare of her children. But what is divine in her, for instance, the deposit of her faith, cannot be an object of prey for her foes.

Christian revelation as it has been originally expounded by the Catholic Church has never lost its vitality. For centuries it has nourished and it still nourishes those millions of souls which adhere to it, and makes of it the living rule of their aspirations and actions. A doctrine which has filled the pages of history with countless names of heroes, of martyrs, of saints, of genuises; a doctrine which has engendered the only civilization worthy of that name, which is shaping up the world in conformity with its principles and is gaining ascendancy over the peoples which do not recognize it as the message of God to man, this doctrine, I say, cannot conceal in its organic structure any germ of decay and virus of death. It is a truth which really comes down from heaven and responds to the deepest needs of our nature. By clinging to it the Catholic Church

looks out with pride over the past and with confidence to the future. Her vitality is so marvellous that even those who see her from an hostile battlefield do not refrain from giving testimony to her glory, and we could not find a better word with which to close this survey of modern adogmatism than the striking phrase of J. E. Carpenter in a recent volume "Marvelous indeed is the story of the Catholic Church in Latin Christianity. Its thinkers essay the stupendous task of organizing all human knowledge, as its rulers attempt to administer human life. It builds the cathedrals, it creates liturgies of penitence, it composes hymns of praise, it cultivates vast places and plants centres of learning and piety from land to land. It promotes the ideals of charity and possesses a unique power of making saints. It calls arts to its aid and Giotto awakes the imagination and guides the hand of Italy to become the teacher of the North. It bids Dante make the great ascent from hell to heaven and picture in immortal verses the meaning of sin and recovery and holiness. The new learning arises and Erasmus stands on one side and Luther and Calvin on the other; but Rome does not fall by her corruption or her losses. With dauntless vigor she sends out her missionaries to the East and to the West and raises the Cross in continents and islands round the globe. She possesses the cohesion of a mighty fabric of thought and discipline, within whose bounds intellect and impulse may yet find wide range of expression and activity. Her great tradition of doctrine and worship enshrines the experience of innumerable minds which have found within its shelter strength and peace. If she has kindled the hatred of her opponents by her pretensions and her crimes, she has also generated the undying love of the believers, who accepted her guidance and found in her their salvation."<sup>36</sup>

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WORK OF THE SPANISH FRIARS ON THE AMERICAN  
CONTINENT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1536  
IN OUR article in the October number of THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, entitled "An Unwritten Page in the History of Education," we referred to the educational foundations in Mexico in the sixteenth century, to the setting up of the first printing press on this continent in 1526, and to sum up the numerous books in manuscript and in print that were produced for the use of schools and seminaries, not only in Spanish and Latin, but in the aboriginal languages. We gave a brief and necessarily incomplete sketch of the primary, grammar, high schools, industrial and normal schools, schools of arts and sciences, colleges and universities, all fully equipped with competent faculties, which educated and trained the first teachers on this continent. All this, as we have shown, was accomplished by Spanish friars, men designated in many of our modern so-called histories as "lazy monks," whose main object in life was to "keep the people in ignorance." Yet all this was done in the sixteenth century, before Harvard College (1636) was dreamed of; before Plymouth Rock (1620) came into history; before the first printing press was set up in Anglo-Saxon America (1636); before John Smith laid the foundation of Jamestown (1607).

The Spanish "conquistadores" came, like their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries in the North, with sword and lance, in quest of gold and spices and pearls and precious woods, and "annexations and—yes, indemnities," too. But there was another band of "conquistadores" who came with the Crucifix and the rosary and whose mission was the conquest of souls and the education and civilization of the aborigines. These "conquistadores" did not limit the field of their labors to the settlements and their vicinity; they had no wives or families to protect and provide for; they knew no father save God, no mother save Mary, no wife save the Church, no children save their flocks. They had received the commission to "go and teach," to "feed My sheep, feed My lambs," and they went forth cheerfully to fulfil that commission. They were not slow in realizing the difficulties that beset their path, but this only made them more determined to overcome them.

The missionaries did not undertake the literary work they found it necessary to do merely for the acquisition of fame. The conditions were too serious and too urgent. Their task was to reduce the aboriginal languages to a system. These languages, be it remembered, had no alphabet, had never been reduced to writing, and

were now for the first time to be arranged into grammatical construction. The missionaries did not attempt to compare the aboriginal languages, nor did they treat them scientifically. They tried, indeed, to adjust them to Latin forms, but they resorted at once to the practical means of coming to an understanding with the natives and they laid the solid foundations that were to bring forth magnificent results later on. The linguistic group of Mexican literature is their proudest achievement, and that even in the fragmentary form in which it has come down to us. Countless are the works remaining in manuscript, sometimes to save expense of printing, sometimes because they were translations of extracts from the Sacred Scriptures, which it was not deemed prudent to leave in vulgar hands without proper and adequate explanations, such as could be given in the classroom. Father Olmos is a striking example of the sad fate that befell many of the writers of his day. It is supposed that he had mastered quite a number of the native languages, among which may be mentioned that of the Chichimicas, as he is known to have spent many years among the people of that tribe. It is estimated that without counting other works from his pen he wrote grammars and vocabularies of such of the Mexican languages as the Huarteca and the Tolteca. Out of so many works only one has survived, a Mexican grammar which, after drifting from public and private libraries for some three centuries, was finally revived in a handsome edition which appeared in 1875, published not in Mexico, but in Paris. Dr. Icazbalceta, who is an authority on the subject, tells us that the study and analysis of books in the Mexican languages should hold a prominent place in the history of literature.

It is still a question as to who was the first to write in the Mexican language, but we have every reason to believe that it was not long before the missionaries were able to make a catechism in one of the aboriginal languages, and the first of which we have up to this time any approximate certainty is the one which Monseñor Zumarraga had printed in 1539.<sup>1</sup> In 1546 he published (printed) at his own expense another, by Fray Alonso de Molina, who went to Mexico at a very early age and received his education there. He devoted himself to the study of the languages he had already acquired through contact with the natives. He was the principal teacher and interpreter among the Franciscans, to which order he belonged, and although he met with many obstacles in his work, had the good fortune of seeing a great part of his works not only printed, but reprinted. Among these were two or three "Doctrinas," two "Confesionarios" (reprinted) and his great

<sup>1</sup> "Bibliografia Mexicana del Siglo," xvi., p. 1.

"Vocabulario Mexicano," which after being published in Mexico in 1555 and 1571 again appeared in an admirable edition in 1880, published in Leipsic.<sup>2</sup> The venerable Pedro Gante (Peter of Ghent) printed two or three editions of his Mexican "Doctrina." Besides these may be mentioned three "Doctrinas" by Fray Domingo, O. P., and Fray Juan de la Anunciacion, O. S. A. The great Father Sahagun has given us his "Psalmodia Christiana," a collection of psalms and hymns adapted to Indian holidays and designed to draw them away from their former idolatry. Father Gaona published his "Coloquias de la Paz y Tranquilidad del Alma," which his contemporaries praised for the purity of its diction.

We have, besides, a large collection of Mexican "Sermons" by Father Juan de la Anunciacion, O. S. A., and Father Juan Bautista (in the last years of the sixteenth century and continued during the first years of the next), when he began a series of his Mexican publications; i. e., publications in the Mexican language.<sup>3</sup>

It was supposed that in the sixteenth century there was no book printed in the difficult language of the Otomi's, as none was mentioned, but not many years ago there came to light the "Doctrinario" of Father Melchor de Vargas, in Spanish, Mexican and Otomi. Similar works were published in the Tarasco language by the French missionary, Father Maturino Gilberti. Father Molina has given us a "Cartilla" (primer) in the Mexican language, two "Tesoros Espirituales," one voluminous "Dialogo de Doctrina," a wonderful work, and a double "Vocabulario." Besides these, he wrote a Latin grammar for the college at Tlalteloco, a copy of which Dr. Icazbalceta tells us he saw in print. In this same Tarascan language Father Molina printed his "Arte," "Diccionario Breve" and other works. From the pens of Fray Juan Bautista de Legunas and Fray de Medina we have an "extensive" "Doctrinalis Fidei."

Nor was the language of the Mistecos neglected, for we find, besides two "Doctrinarios," in two different dialects by the indefatigable Fray Benito Fernandez, the grammar of Father Reyes and the wonderful "Vocabulario" compiled by Father Francisco Alvarez. It was not known that he had done any writing in the Chichona language (one of the Mixteco family). One day there was found, in a bundle of old paper to be used for wrapping paper a "Catechism" by Father Bartolomé Roldan, an author entirely unknown. How many more may come to light in the same way?

In the language of the Zapotecos appeared the "Doctrinario"

<sup>2</sup> Idem.

<sup>3</sup> All the works referred to in this article may be found mentioned in the "Bibliografia Mexicana," pp. 13 to 335.

of Monseñor Feria, Bishop of Oaxaca; the "Arte" (philosophy) and "Vocabulario" of Father Cordoba. In Huasteco we have the "Doctrinas" of Fathers Guervara and Cruz.

The Southern provinces of Mexico were not neglected. To the presses at the capital came the "Doctrina Utlateca," by Monseñor Marroquin, Bishop of Guatemala; grammars of the various dialects of that region, compiled by Fray Francisco Zapeda, and in Maya the "Arte" and "Vocabulario" of Father Luis de Villalpando. Of the works of this author no copies are known to exist at the present time, but there is no doubt as to their having been published.

From the foregoing we learn that before the close of the sixteenth century books had already been *printed* in Mexico in eight or ten languages, and that there were in circulation the five vocabularies, in Mexican, Tarasco, Misteco, Zapoteco and Maya. Later on, for nearly two centuries, the Mexican press continued to issue the products of religious zeal, not only in the languages already mentioned, but in many others, and it is a fact worthy of note that there is no work of this character and so necessary to the needs of the times that did not emanate from the pen of an ecclesiastic. Yet these were the "lazy," "sleepy monks" described by many Anglo-American authors who pretend to write the history of those times. It would seem from the facts given above that they were evidently very wide awake at the dawn of American civilization, while their English brethren in the North were too busily engaged in commercial enterprises to think of education. If any one was late in the field of American education it was certainly not the Catholic Church.

Let it not be supposed that the fruit of the books above mentioned is limited to the mere introduction to a knowledge of linguistics. Some of them are valuable aids to the study of history. For instance, in the preface of Father Reyes' "Arte Misteca" we get a glimpse at the ancient life, the manners and the architecture and monuments of the Misteca tribe. Father Cordoba's "Arte Zapoteca" gives us the only chronological record we have of the Zapotecas, and the "Sermones Mexicanos" of Fray Juan Bautista (1606) abounds in curious notes on the primitive history of Mexican literature. Nor are the "Confesionarios" limited to doctrine alone; they deal with the manners, customs and superstitions of the natives.

The great and important contributions to the Mexican literature of the sixteenth century by the Spanish missionaries deserve more than a passing notice. Writers on the history of literature generally include the few Mexican authors they seem to have any

notion about, under the head of "Spanish Literature" and dismiss them with little more than the mere mention of their names and the title of one or two of their works. Yet the history of Mexican literature of the sixteenth century deserves to be better known than it is now, and this all the more because of the difficulties, already pointed out, under which it was commenced. We may refer to it again in a future article; our present purpose is to deal with early Hispano-American education on the American Continent.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO.

If we are to credit the statement made by Herrera (Dec. VI., lib. 7, chap. 6), the first steps towards the foundation of the University of Mexico were taken in 1539. He tells us that in that year, at the urgent solicitation of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians, who was in Spain at that time, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, was commanded, "among other things," to lay the foundations for a university in Mexico. Dr. Icazbalceta seems to doubt the correctness of this statement, because he cannot believe it possible that the execution of the order could have been delayed so long, and also because when the charter was granted there was no reference made to any prior movement in the matter. From the context of the charter we may deduce that the circumstances were as follows:

The Viceroy, Mendoza, had already founded or assisted various institutions of learning, such as the college at Tlaltelolco, for Indians, and the College of San Juan de Latran for the *mestizos* of both sexes, but not satisfied with this, he, at the urgent instance of the city, joined in a petition to the crown asking for the foundation of "a university with cathedrals for all the sciences," in the City of Mexico, in which "not only the *natives* but also the sons of Spaniards might be instructed in all things pertaining to our holy religion, as well as in all other sciences." Before waiting for the approval of the sovereign, he organized the desired work and appointed professors who were to give instruction in the sciences most esteemed at that time. He encouraged them with the assurance that it was beyond all doubt that a university would soon be founded at their capital with "all the faculties," and he made them a generous donation, on his own account, of some cattle ranches which he owned in the vicinity. It is to be regretted that we have so little information concerning this primitive foundation which does so much honor to the Viceroy.

The Viceroy was not slow in recognizing the fact that the success of such an undertaking was impossible without the sanction and

pecuniary assistance of the sovereign, so he, in conjunction with the citizens, prelates and the religious orders, appealed to the crown for the formal creation of the university, with a "corresponding endowment." The petition met with a favorable reception, and although its object was not realized until after the transfer of Señor Mendoza (1550) to Peru, to him belongs the glory of having taken the initiative in founding the first fully equipped university on the American Continent. His successor, Don Luis de Velasco, had the happiness of carrying out the plans conceived by Señor Mendoza.

Finally the Emperor, Charles V., by a decree executed at Toro, on September 21, 1551, and signed by the prince who subsequently became Philip II.,<sup>4</sup> authorized the foundation of the University of Mexico, endowing it with one thousand dollars per annum in gold from the mines, over and above the proceeds of the ranches donated by Señor Mendoza, at the same time granting it all the privileges and immunities from taxes enjoyed by the University of Salamanca, with a few limitations subsequently removed by Philip II. (now King of Spain) by a decree dated Madrid, April 17, 1562. The Holy Apostolic See, at the request of the King, in 1565 confirmed the privileges and decreed that it be governed by the statutes of the University of Salamanca and enjoy the same favors. It conceded the patronage of the institution to the sovereigns of Spain as the founders, and later on conferred upon it the title of *Pontifical*. Such was the origin of the University of Mexico, founded about the same time as the University of San Marcos, at Lima, Peru, and by "priests" and "monks," who, as some very learned (?) authorities assert, had never a thought beyond keeping their co-religionists in America in the most profound ignorance and draining their resources to the last penny. The Viceroy, delighted with the important commission entrusted to him, began to look around him for a suitable site for the institution. While authorities differ as to the exact location, we are concerned only with the fact of the foundation.

The formal opening of the university took place on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1553, and the occasion was honored by the presence of the civil and religious dignitaries resident at the capital. The faculty was appointed without delay; Don Antonio Rodriguez de Quesada became rector and Don Gomez de Santillana vice rector. The chairs of theology, Sacred Scriptures, canon law, decretals, civil law, philosophy and rhetoric were soon established, to be followed in a short time by those of medicine and surgery, botany, music and zoölogy, some principles of agricul-

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<sup>4</sup> Puga, "Cedulario," fol. 137-138.

ture and, of course, a scientific study of the native languages. When we consider the class of men who filled the different chairs in this university we cannot wonder that so many of its students attained prominent positions in the civil government of their native provinces. Then, too, the precocity of some of the young Indian students is beyond belief. Fray Marcelino Solis y Haro, O. S. A., a native Mexican and author of the "Dedicatoria" of the university, tells us that among the A. B.'s graduated up to the time of his report there was quite a number of students younger even than many of the youths of our day at the time of their leaving the grammar schools. Father Haro is himself an example. He passed with amazing rapidity from one distinguished position to another, in civil as well as in ecclesiastical life. He received the degrees of licentiate and doctor in the faculty of canons before reaching his seventeenth year, and after filling numerous and various chairs attained the highest honor within the gift of the Mexican capital, that of rector of the university. He was also honored with the mitre. This prodigy of precocity seems almost incredible, but it is attested to by incontrovertible authority.

A still more astonishing case, if we can imagine such a thing, is that of Don Pedro de la Paz Vasconcelos, a native of the City of Mexico and *born blind*. With no assistance save that of attending the catedras, or lectures, and at "great expense in securing competent persons to read to him, to explain the matter read and enable him to memorize what he heard, he became a perfect master of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and theology," and succeeded in obtaining degrees in all these subjects from the university. Not satisfied with this, he entered the private office of an advocate and applied himself to the study of theoretic and practical jurisprudence, in which he made such progress that he not only "mastered the matter, but could cite page and author, if necessary." Still, he was not satisfied. In 1622, when but nineteen years of age, he took part in a disputation on philosophy (*visperas de filosofia*) and displayed such ability that he received a large number of votes for a professorship, and if he did not obtain the chair, there were many learned men who thought he should have had it. He died on November 1, 1678, at the age of sixty-five.<sup>5</sup>

No less wonderful was the memory of Don Antonio Calderon, another alumnus of the university, who we are told "no sooner read a book than he sold it," having no further use for it, "because the matter it contained was so deeply impressed upon his mind that he could quote the language and cite page and author with unerring accuracy."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Medina, "Cronica de San Diego," fo. 237.

<sup>6</sup> "Constituciones de la Universidad," prologo.

The *catedras* or chairs in the university continued to increase until at the beginning of the seventeenth century there were twenty-four. Among these were the chairs of the Mexican and Otomi languages. The medical department deserves special mention, as it gives us an idea of the progress made in that science in these early days in the New World.

Before the advent of the Europeans the Mexican people knew very little of the diseases peculiar to civilization. They treated their sick as best they could, yet it is beyond doubt that the study of medicine, in certain directions, had received much attention, and it is a historical fact that the Emperor Montezuma had special gardens in which were cultivated numerous medical herbs and that he required the doctors of his court to study their curative properties and to experiment with them, so as to be able to use them in treating the members of the nobility. While the poorer people seldom invoked the aid of physicians, so as to avoid the payment of extortionate fees, they had a considerable knowledge of the curative properties of many herbs and plants and were able to cure themselves. We learn from Torguemada that "there were throughout the kingdom many medicinal herbs and the Indians were good herbolists, and cured many infirmities with them, and there are few diseases for which they have not a remedy, and they administer it."<sup>7</sup>

We may well imagine that there were quack medicine men in these days as well as in ours, Father Juan Bautista, in his *Confesionario*, prescribes the following question to be asked by the confessor of this Indian penitent: "Have you ever pretended to practice medicine without the proper examination and license?"

The attention given to medicine in the sixteenth century, in Mexico, the hospitals, the care bestowed upon the patients, the wonderful surgical operations (for the times), the regulations laid down for the preservation of health in cities and towns, especially in times of pestilence, would afford interesting reading to the student of history. The regulations laid down by Dr. Barrios for keeping the city in proper condition during pestilence would do honor to any board of health in New York in our day.

Among the numerous medical works published in Mexico during the period under consideration is the "Tratado Breve de Medicina," by Father Agustin Farian, O. S. A., published in 1579, and republished in 1592, 1604 and 1610. The repeated reproduction of this work shows the high appreciation in which it was held.

Between the date of the foundation of the university and 1775, the date of the dawn of the American Revolution, a period of some two hundred years, the University of Mexico graduated 1,162 doc-

<sup>7</sup> "Monarquia Indiana," lib. xvi., cap. 14.

tors and 29,882 bachelors. The number of licentiates is not mentioned by our authority (Dr. Icazbalceta), but we know that among them was the name of the distinguished dramatic poet, Don Jose Ruiz de Alarcon.<sup>8</sup> The catalogue of the sons of this famous institution would give us the names of many men who rose to the highest places in civil and ecclesiastical life not only in their native land, but in the mother country. Among them may be reckoned over eighty Archbishops and Bishops. It must not be supposed from the vast number of pupils graduated that the requirements were not up to the standard—even the standard of to-day. A student was not permitted to enter any of the post-graduate departments in law or medicine until he had made at least three years of studies in the undergraduate departments. It was the custom of the university to hold periodical public disputations on subjects relating to philosophy and theology, and among the men who distinguished themselves on these occasions has come down to us the name of Fray Francisco Naranjo, O. P., a native of Mexico and a graduate of the university. In his youth he had done military service and then assumed the habit of St. Dominic. So great was his learning and so ably did he defend his propositions that he was named for an episcopal see, but died before consecration.

Another illustrious character of these days was Father Antonio Portillo, a native of Guadalajara, whose literary theses commanded universal admiration. Six of these he defended with such signal ability during five successive days that at the expiration of the contest the university immediately conferred upon him the four degrees of M. A., S. T. D., Canon and Laws. The King appointed him Canon, first of Mexico City and later on of Valencia, where he died. Father Manerio, S. J., refers to him in these words: "*Quacumque ingredereetur per vias urbis, digito notabatur, et hic Portillus est, hic ille sapiens, alter alteri repetebant.*"

We must not forget to mention Monseñor Nicolas del Puente, a full-blooded Indian, who was made Bishop of Oaxaca in May, 1675. He was nominated by the King and the nomination was approved by the Holy See, and this in spite of the opposition made on account of his origin. He was a graduate of the University of Mexico, a man of great learning and proved to be an excellent Bishop. Among the great educators that the Mexico of the sixteenth century produced may be mentioned Bernardino de Sahagun, who may be justly regarded as the father of American anthropology. Another distinguished writer is Juan de Torguemada, a noted Mexican and author of the "Monarquia Mexicana," a mine, we may say, of facts connected with the history of Mexico in the days of the Mon-

<sup>8</sup> "Vida de Alarcon," by Don Luis Fernandez Guerea.

tezumas. As a source of information concerning Mexican antiquities it is invaluable.

In the course of time the library came to have more than ten thousand volumes, among which were many relating to Mexican history, the work of the sons of the university, many of them very rare to-day and as valuable as they are rare. This library was open to the public from early morning till late at night, with attendants ready to supply the requirements of its patrons. With the period of Mexican revolutions came the antagonism instigated by secret societies against all Christian education, and the university shared the fate of all colleges and schools—a fate that seems to have come down to the generations of to-day in all countries in which anti-Christian governments prevail. Our own country has not escaped the baneful effects of the expulsion of religion from our schools. The religious schools of our land never imparted the seditious language nor the disloyal and unpatriotic conduct of men who stand high in our national councils. These men are safer in Washington than they would have been in the Mexican capital in ante-revolutionary days.

Before its final annihilation the University of Mexico passed through many vicissitudes in modern times. Its first extinction was decreed by President Farias, in 1833. Santa Anna restored it in 1834, making some changes in its statutes. The "Plan" of August 18, 1843, made some very radical changes. Among others it forbade the students of the colleges from attending the courses at the university. On July 31, 1854, Santa Anna reorganized the university, changing the existing catedras, so as to favor only the *passers* allowed by the different faculties, which "faculties" now conferred the doctor's degree on many who had not followed the required course. Other so-called reforms, and there were many, were attempted, but, happily, few of them were realized. The discredit to which the university had fallen, partly because of the instability of the regulations by which it was governed (or rather misgoverned) and partly because they came in conflict with public opinion, made it impossible for the university to exist only in name. The building was eventually used as a place for holding elections and public meetings and even as a barracks. President Comonfort suppressed it by a decree, dated September 11, 1857. President Juarez ordered it restored to the condition in which it was prior to the Plan of Tacubaya, which meant that the memorable institution was to be abolished and that the site and all its appurtenances were to be turned over to Don Jose F. Ramirez. Later on, either by disposition of the *Regencia* or because of the nullification of the aforesaid order, the university was revived, after a fashion, about the middle of the year

1863, but it was definitely suppressed by the Emperor Maximilian, in November, 1865. The library soon after was removed and boxed up. Some authorities claim that it *disappeared* rather mysteriously. The university building was used for some time by the Department of Agriculture, and in more recent years it was converted into a conservatory of music and declamation.<sup>9</sup>

It is a striking fact that in Mexico, as in other countries in which religion is restricted or persecuted, moral education is restricted and perverted; self-preservation takes the place of patriotism, and the high ideals for which patriotism immolated itself are shamelessly ignored. The Mexico of to-day is feeling the effects of the absence of those moral principles that religion implants in the human heart and which the old Spanish friars labored to impress upon the minds of American youth at the very dawn of American civilization.

We must not forget that while Harvard is held up to us as the first university established in what is now the United States, its doors were not opened until 1639, eighty-five years after the foundation of the Universities of Mexico and Lima. It conferred its first degrees in 1662. In 1727 the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy was established, while that of chemistry and its laboratory was not founded until 1783; then followed natural history in 1805 and sciences in 1816. The Hispano-American universities were old by this time. In addition to what has been said about Mexico it may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that the first piece of music published in America was a Psalter, printed in two colors, black and red. It is in every way equal to the fine work of the sort that was done in Europe at that time. The first wood engraving made in the Western Hemisphere was produced in Mexico. It appeared on the title page of Gerson's "Tripartita." It represents a Bishop conferring the holy order of the priesthood.

The first attempt to publish a newspaper in the New World was the *Mercurio Volante* (the Flying Mercury), which first appeared in 1693. The Boston *News-Letter* did not appear until 1704. Juan Antonio Alzado, a scientist, published *El Diario Literario de Mexico* in 1765. In 1722 the *Gazeta de Mexico y Noticias de Nueva España* appeared. In the "second series" of this publication appeared a review of books published in Mexico and Spain. Among the Mexican poets may be mentioned Sister Juana Inez de la Cruz. She was born in 1651 and played an important part in the development of Mexican literature. Her poetry was of a thoroughly religious character.

One of the most interesting of the Mexican historians was Do-

<sup>9</sup> "Boletin de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografia y Estadistica," 2 epoca, vol. I., p. 359.

mingo Chimalpain. He was a full-blooded Indian, born in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and was graduated from the University of Mexico. He wrote a number of books relating to the history of the country, some of them in Spanish and some in the Mahuaatl language.

Father Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, S. J. (1645-1700), wrote a number of works in prose and verse. Among these was a controversy on the nature of comets with his brother Jesuit, the German Father Kühn (or Kino), the explorer of California.

It is more than probable that the first hospital on the American continent was founded in Mexico, for we learn that Dr. Pedro Lopez, as told in the "Estatutos de la Universidad," as gifted as he was charitable, founded, in 1572, the hospital of San Lazaro, and ten years later another at San Juan de Dios, under the title of the Epiphany, for the treatment of mulattos and mestizos. He also opened a home for foundlings and established a confraternity of distinguished persons, under the invocation of Nuestra Senora de los Desamparados (Our Lady of the Forsaken) to gather up these little forsaken ones and provide for them.

#### THE UNIVERSITY OF LIMA.

The University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, was founded in conformity with the requirements of religion and society in the lands added to the crown of Spain and in accordance with the ardent aspirations of the Spanish sovereigns.<sup>10</sup> It was with the intention of furthering the designs of Fray Tomas de San Martin, first provincial of the Sons of St. Dominic in Peru, and later on Bishop of Chuquisaca, that the Emperor Charles and his mother, Doña Juana, took a lively interest in the early education of Peru. Among the instructions given to the Dominican Father and the Licenciavdo, Don Pedro de la Gasca, on his arrival from Spain, in 1550, was the establishment of a "house of general studies," with the same privileges, immunities and powers enjoyed by the University of Salamanca. It was further ordered that this "school" was to be opened in the Dominican Convent del Rosario, as the most proper place for a work of such importance.

The royal "Cedula" of approbation sent from Valladolid, on May 12, 1551, reached Lima only after the lapse of two years, but as there were no other means available at that time besides the 350

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<sup>10</sup> For much of the information concerning the foundation of the University of Lima, I am indebted to the *Anales Universitarios de Peru*, Redactados y Publicados por el Doctor, Don Jose G. Paz-Soldan, Rector de la Universidad de Lima.

pesos in gold provided by the Dominican rectors, it was impossible to start all the faculties projected for the institution, at the same time. Finally, on November 30, 1571, Philip II, ordered the Claustro to select among its teaching doctors a working faculty. In accordance with this mandate, Don Gaspar Meneses, A. M., M. D., was elected rector. He lived only one year and was succeeded, on April 15, 1573, by Don Antonio Sanchez Ronedo, M. D., Protonotary General, and his staff of Dominican Fathers, who were empowered to confer the degrees of master and doctor upon all who proved themselves entitled to them.

No suitable building for a university was as yet available, but this did not affect the generosity of professors who composed the Claustro held on December 31, 1571, and who determined to undertake the establishment of the university under the invocation of San Marcos, at their own expense. They purchased a property belonging to Don Juan de Morelos for \$1,300, and which had been used as the convent of San Agustin. Subsequent donations enabled the founders to establish the chairs of Latin and of general Indian linguistics, so necessary in those days for the propagation of the faith. Besides there were founded three chairs in philosophy, three in theology (prima, vespera and Scripture), three more in laws (prima, vespera and institutes), two in canons, two in medicine. Among the original faculty were Maestro Fray Miguel Adrian, O. P., for theology; Dr. Fernando Vasquez Fajardo taught canon law. The chair of jurisprudence was filled by Dr. Geronimo Lopez Guarnido, and that of medicine by Dr. Antonio Sanchez Renedon. The chair of Indian linguistics was filled by Dr. Juan Balboa, the first creole doctor graduated from the university. For the support of the various chairs an appropriation of 20,312 pesos was made. This amount was contributed by the city of Lima and other important cities.

The chair of anatomy was founded by Don Diego Ladron de Guevara, Viceroy and Bishop of Quito, on condition that the professor give, weekly, "practical demonstrations in the Hospital of San Andres with a cadaver."

Animated by the ardent desire of fostering among their people a love of learning, the religious orders of the country were not slow in founding chairs of such sciences as were in keeping with their calling, well knowing that the noble and precious reward is to be found in the only real stimulus to virtue.

The Franciscan Fathers established a chair of prima and vespera,<sup>11</sup> and this without pecuniary remuneration. The Augustinians ob-

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<sup>11</sup> In the Spanish universities the terms "prima" and "vespera" indicate the canonical hours at which these classes are held.

tained permission to found three chairs—of *prima, vespertas*, of the dogmas of their great founder, and another of “maestro de sentencias.” The Jesuits established chairs for the study of their theologians, and the royal and military order of La Merced was able to endow a chair for the teaching of St. Thomas.

It was not an easy thing in those days to obtain the doctor's degree. An applicant must have received the degree of bachelor, which no one received who could not present testimonials of matriculation in five courses in the faculty to which he aspired, and giving assurances to the secretary that he had spent the greater part of the year in study and given the required time to the sciences. Without this it was impossible to obtain any degree. Students were not excluded from the faculties of the university because of inability to pay their way.

It was not enough for the student to have obtained the bachelor's degree to enable him to gain the higher grades of licentiate and doctor. He must give evidence that he has ‘heard, passed or read five other courses, or three in moral, if the ‘Claustro’ dispense him.’ His class marks and conduct report were rigorously scrutinized, and this was followed by a most rigid examination.

It may not be out of place to indicate some of the courses, as follows:

Theology—Theological topics, preceded by an instruction in the truths of religion; dogmatic theology, moral theology, ecclesiastical history and canon law; writings of the Fathers, sacred eloquence.

Jurisprudence—Law, natural and penal, civil law, canon law, comparative legislation; practical and forensic eloquence, political economy and statistics.

Medicine—Anatomy, physiology and hygiene, pathology and therapeutics, *materia medica* and pharmacy, nosography, surgical operations, obstetrics, internal and external clinics, moral law in medicine, natural history and chemistry.

Notwithstanding the fact that the University of Lima was one of the first founded in the New World (it was founded about the same time as the University of Mexico) and is a credit to the desire for education in those early days, and the fact that its halls, as we are told by Montalvo in his work entitled “Sol del Nuevo Mundo,” were frequented by some 2,000 students and the additional fact that Lima was the centre of education for the youth of Chile, upper Peru, Quito, Panama and other South American cities, which testifies to its advancement and progress. There were such writers as Paw, who not only belittled its work, but presumed to despise it. Dr. Paw was one of those Anglo-American writers who saw nothing

worth while outside of New England. Because of the difficulty in obtaining competent professors in those days for Harvard and kindred institutions in the North, he feigned to imagine that the same conditions prevailed in Spanish America. He ignored the fact that the greater part of the Spanish missionaries were members of religious orders and graduates of the principal universities of Europe. They were born teachers and they realized that their work was education and not speculation. It is well known that the University of San Marcos aided and organized from among her students the society known as "Anales de Paris," which at the close of the last century published the twelve volumes of the "Mercurio Peruano," so highly prized in Peru. It is well known that the University established chairs of botany, of metallurgy and a botanical garden for the advancement of these professions in Peru. Nor must we forget the foundation of the law school, which has proved such a boon to the legal profession and to the public in general.

As against the bigoted assertions of Dr. Paw, we may be permitted again to quote Professor Bourne, a non-Catholic, who says:

"The most famous of the earlier Peruvian writers were Acosta, the historian, author of the 'Natural and Civil History of the Indies; the mestizo Garcilaso de la Vega, who was educated in Spain and wrote of the Inca Empire and De Soto's expedition; Sandoval, the author of the first great work on Africa and the Negro written in America; Antonio Leon Pinedo, the first American biographer and one of the greatest as well as one of the most indefatigable codifiers of the legislation of the Indies. Pinedo was born in Peru and educated at the Jesuit College in Lima."

But the Universities of Mexico and Lima were not the only ones founded by the Spanish "Friars" in those early days. The University of Cuzco was founded in 1558, the University of San Fulgencio was founded by the Augustinians in 1620 and the Jesuits had their Xaverian Union in 1592. The University of Santo Domingo (Hayti) was established by a Papal Bull in 1538, with a faculty in theology, jurisprudence, philosophy and medicine. Nor were the islands of the Gulf an exception in the zeal for education, for we learn that a Bull of Pope Adrian VI., dated April 28, 1522, gave birth to the Escolastica at Santiago de Cuba. It was designed for giving instruction in Latin. In 1609 the College of San Ambrosio was founded in Havana by the Jesuit Fathers as a theological seminary, and they followed it up by the foundation of another college in the Cuban capital. It was opened in 1724 as the College of San Ignacio.

In 1688 the Ayuntamiento of Havana petitioned the home

Government to establish a university in their city, so that the youth of the island who were desirous of pursuing higher courses would not be subjected to the expense of going to Europe to accomplish their purpose. After some delay the petition was granted by a Brief of Pope Innocent XIII., dated September 12, 1721, and the Jesuit Fathers of San Juan de Letran were authorized to establish the long desired institution. It took some years, however, to complete all arrangements, so that the University of Havana was not officially established until 1728. The rector, vice rector and counsellors were to be Dominicans and the university was granted the same rank as the University of Alcala de Henares, which had been under the patronage of Cardinal Cisneros, and soon developed into a seat of learning of great celebrity. In 1701 it had three chairs, one of philosophy, one of which was known as the "Aristotelic Test," another called the "Master of Sentences;" three of civil law; two of canon law; four of medicine and two of mathematics. Later on new classes were added in which all branches were taught, and as well and thoroughly taught as in any contemporary institution in Europe. As the teaching was *gratuitous*,<sup>12</sup> and the doors of the classes were open to all who desired to enter, the university became extremely popular and soon became one of the most important factors in the civilization of the island. When the university was taken out of the hands of the friars and placed under civil control and consequently became a secular institution, the matriculation fees were raised from 15 cents to \$25 in philosophy and \$102 in law, medicine, pharmacy and theology. We can well imagine the effect of this change upon the youth of Havana. The writer of this article remembers this institution well, as he spent some time as a student within its walls.

We may add that the suppression of the religious orders did not prevent the good "friars" from continuing their noble work. It is well known that Fray Antonio Herrera, O. P., during his residence at Guanabacoa, after the secularization of the University, gave several hours of the day to a class of twenty-five boys who came to him daily for instruction in Latin and other subjects. Not only would the good man never accept money or presents from his pupils, but he frequently shared his scanty breakfast with the most needy.

As the tourist enters the harbor of Havana one of the most prominent buildings that attracts his attention is the old church and the

<sup>12</sup> The matriculation fee required of the students of the university was merely nominal, "real y medio" (fifteen cents). The graduation fee, in the degree of doctor, consisted of a pair of gloves and a silk handkerchief to each member of the faculty.

convent of San Francisco, for many years (since 1841) used as a custom house. Many a time, in my boyhood, have I played in the shadow of its walls. Tradition tells us that there were always in that house from seventy to eighty "friars" who devoted their time not only to the performance of their religious duties, but in teaching Latin, philosophy, theology and other branches, and this teaching was always *gratuitous* and regularly and systematically imparted. The Franciscan Fathers had a regular maestro of grammar, a lector on philosophy, three professors or tutors (*catedraticos*) of the same sciences, or rather of some special branches thereof, and teachers of other branches, mathematics included. This teaching department of the convent was attended by a large number of pupils; it imparted instruction, as we have said, *gratuitously*—a fact we cannot dwell upon too forcibly. It was under the control and supervision of a prefect of studies called a *Regente General de Estudios*.

So popular was this institution that at the earnest solicitation of the citizens of Havana authority was given to the convent to confer the degree of "bachiller" both in philosophy and theology, and the studies made there were granted the same official character and rating as those made in any regularly authorized establishment of the Spanish monarchy.

During a recent visit to Havana I looked with sorrow at the venerable building and regretted that when the island passed from Spanish to American hands the good Franciscans did not avail themselves of the opportunity to recover it, as was done with other church property which reverted to the control of its legitimate owners.

From what has been said in the foregoing pages it will be seen that the Catholic Church, so far from being behindhand in the field of education on American soil, was actually at work in founding schools, colleges and universities fully half a century before their Anglo-Saxon brethren found time to give a thought to it. They were too intent on exterminating the aborigine and establishing themselves upon his lands. The Spanish-American missionaries, faithful to the commands of their Divine Master, went forth to "teach all nations." True, the Spanish explorers were guilty of unheard-of cruelties, and in some places exterminated the native population, but this was done, as we have shown in a former article, in spite of the heroic efforts of the missionaries, who eventually put a stop to these cruelties. In Anglo-Saxon America the Indians have almost entirely disappeared, for while the Indian population of the United States is scarcely 260,000, Mexico has an Indian population of 4,000,000 and Peru 1,723,914. The work done in

civilizing the native population by the Catholic missionary will always constitute one of the brightest pages in American history. The "International Encyclopedia" tells us that "the Jesuit missions among the Guarani (S. A.) are recognized as the most successful ever established in America. At one time they counted over 300,000 Christianized Indians." The work of the missionaries still goes on and they are still the teachers and civilizers of savage peoples.

We have seen the Spanish friar studying unknown tongues, reducing them to writing and to grammatical rules; we have seen him founding colleges and universities, and, in time, filling the chairs of these universities with able professors drawn from among their own graduates, and we see, to-day, the fruits of their labors in the magnificent specimen of architecture with which Spanish America is dotted and which still command the admiration of the connoisseur. We have seen the missionary building orphan asylums, protectories, hospitals and homes for the destitute and unfortunate, and this long before the United States became a nation, and he is continuing the good work in our day.

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## QUEEN AND SAINT.

“SAXON MARGARET,” QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

A T A momentous period in the history of Britain a woman was born in Hungary who was destined to play an important part in bringing the northern portion of the isle out of the darkness and barbarism in which it was plunged into the light and civilization of Continental Europe. A direct descendant of the great Alfred, some of his qualities of head and heart seem to have been transmitted to her. If ever a woman made history, surely Margaret the Atheling, great-niece of Edward the Confessor, wife of Malcolm Canmore, first ruler of the united Scots, may claim that honor. It is a significant fact that writers say “the reign of Margaret” quite as often as “the reign of Malcolm.” Her father, Edward, son of Edmund Ironsides, was heir to the throne of England in rightful succession to Edward the Confessor, but through the influence of Cnut he was banished to Hungary. Some say Edward was, with the consent of the State, sent to Sweden and by King Olave, Cnut’s half-brother, he was, later on, sent to Hungary. Accounts vary as to this, but all agree that he spent his early life in that kingdom, and while there married the Princess Agatha, niece of the Queen of Hungary and kinswoman of Henry II., the powerful Emperor of Germany. Of this marriage were born Edgar “the Atheling,” Christian, and probably in 1047 their more famous sister, Margaret.

Hungary was then in her first glory as an independent kingdom and flourishing under the wise and enlightened rule of her first King, the sainted Stephen. It would seem that Margaret’s father was recognized as a prince of the blood royal and that his family either resided at court or had all the privileges of close association with the reigning sovereign. Under the tutelage of Stephen and his wife Gisella, who had been a Bavarian princess, Margaret had a training perhaps unequaled in any other court in Europe. Stephen was no mere pious dreamer, but a statesman of rare breadth of view, whose practical Christian life and constructive ability raised Hungary to the first rank among the nations of Europe. In such surroundings was Margaret’s early life spent.

In 1057 Edward the Confessor sent for Margaret’s father, Edward, so that he might be in England in the event of his, the King’s death, and thus be able to take his place on the throne should the troubled condition of Britain permit. But Edward, though only forty-nine years of age, died before his arrival in England. He was buried with great pomp in St. Paul’s Cathedral, then as now the metropolitan church

of London. His son Edgar was selected after the death of Harold to carry on the succession of the royal house of Alfred, but the victories of the Conqueror prevented Edgar's accession to the throne. This was doubtless a fortunate thing for the country, as this young prince was by nature totally unfit for a position of such responsibility. Later on he appears to have cast in his fortunes with the Scots, and after various vicissitudes was forced by the Conqueror to leave the country with his mother and sisters.

To the exiled party Hungary would seem their natural place of refuge, so with a company of faithful attendants they set forth on their sad journey. But they were driven by storms out of their course to the Scotch coast. Here in a little bay in the Firth of Forth they anchored. As Mercer tells us:

"It is a sheltered safe retreat,  
For tempest driven vessels meet;  
And ever since that day so famed  
St. Margaret's Hope it has been named."

Margaret's queenly bearing, with what the chronicles call "a pleasantness of jocund speech," seems to have much impressed the rude and simple men who first met the shipwrecked party. They appear to have been dazzled not only by the beauty of the princess, but by the splendor of the entire royal family. Their rich robes must have retained, even after the trials of their voyage, enough of their beauty to look wondrously fine to men accustomed only to garments of coarse wool and skins. Besides, the Lady Agatha had with her many splendid golden vessels, jewels and rich stuffs that she was taking back to Hungary as gifts, such things as had never before been seen in that far northern land.

Evidently the King soon followed the messengers he had sent to inquire about the strangers whom Fate had cast upon his shores, and he immediately offered them the hospitality of his palace of Dunfermline. Tradition has it that the royal party walked the four miles that lay between St. Margaret's Bay and the castle, and that the Princess sat to rest for a while on a stone which since then has borne her name. The farm where the stone lay has always been called, even to this day, St. Margaret's Stone Farm. The stone itself was removed as late as 1856, when the road was widened. Just where the exiles landed from their little ship, at the point where the great Forth Bridge to-day spans the narrowest part of the bay, the name, Queen's Ferry, recalls the auspicious day that Scotland's greatest benefactress first set foot on her soil.

At his castle of Dunfermline, where the King of the ballad sits, "drinking the blood-red wine," Malcolm welcomed his guests with

the greatest courtesy, and apparently quickly fell under the spell of Margaret's personality. The Saxon Chronicle tells us that "King Malcolm soon began to yearn after his (Edgar's) sister to wife." Malcolm was a widower at this time, his first wife having been Ingibiorg, widow of Tostig. This was probably a political marriage, by which the King hoped to bind his Danish and other northern subjects more closely to their allegiance. Two sons were born of this union, one bearing the name of his grandfather, the murdered Duncan. Nothing is heard of them in history, however, not even of why they made no claim to the throne. Malcolm, surnamed Canmore or "Great Head," because of the unusual size of his head, seems to have been a man of remarkable strength of character, gifted with courage and intelligence, and eminently fitted to govern his wild subjects, whose different racial characteristics and customs required a strong hand to guide and control them. In addition he had had the advantage of intercourse with the great chiefs south of the Tweed, among them Siward of Northumberland, who helped him to regain his throne; and he had spent some time at the court of the Confessor, who had espoused his cause and waged in his behalf the only foreign war of his reign. That is, if Malcolm was really the son and not the grandson of the murdered Duncan, as those who read their Shakespeare will be inclined to believe, though authorities differ. Malcolm was in the prime of life, about forty years old, when he met the Princess Margaret, and had reigned about twelve years.

It is not known how long the Princess Agatha had been in England with her children before they left it by William's orders. Nor can any records be found of Margaret's life in Hungary. But it is known that she lived at the court of Stephen and it is supposed that she had also been at that of the Confessor. This would certainly prove to be a period of great formative influence for the future Queen of Scotland, supplementing that already received in Hungary. Both Kings, the sainted Stephen and the Edward who earned the title of "the Confessor," were noted for their purity of life and their love of learning. Edward brought into England, as a result of his long residence in Normandy, the first traces of that advancing civilization which, up to that time, had not touched England, and of which Scotland, still farther away from such influences, was even more ignorant. Margaret, gifted by nature with a fine mind, must have absorbed much from the edifying and scholarly surroundings in which her life so far had been spent, and which had been fitting her for the great task that, all unknown to herself, Providence had destined for her.

Great as were the qualities of the woman whom the King wished to take as his wife, his own were as great, though different. The union promised to be ideal for the happiness of the two most concerned and for the welfare of the country so sorely in need of regeneration. Arrangements were soon made for this marriage, which was destined to be of such benefit to Scotland; it took place shortly after Easter, in either 1069 or 1070—the records of this period as to dates are unreliable. Frothard, the Celtic Bishop of St. Andrews, performed the ceremony in a small chapel adjoining the Tower of Dunfermline. Portions of this royal dwelling still remain, after a lapse of eight centuries. Some of the wax seals found on the earliest Scotch charters show it to have been an imposing building, two stories high with a sort of attic for servants, so it must have been more than a mere stronghold, as most of the residences for kings and nobles were, of necessity, in that unsettled period. There Margaret began to lead that life of private and public usefulness which has made her renowned among Scottish queens. One of her first acts was to build a church in honor of the Holy Trinity in memory of her marriage. Everything connected with the public exercises of religion received her reverent attention, but this in no wise detracted from the care with which she personally supervised the details of life in the palace.

From the very beginning she set herself the task of bringing her husband's court into some resemblance to those in which she had passed her youth. In this she had the full concurrence of the King. Malcolm, while no scholar—he could not even read—must have been able to appreciate his wife's attainments. No doubt he admired her intellect as much as he loved her gentle ways. He was a wise, patriotic ruler, though with the roughness of his race and time, and must have felt that here indeed was a woman well able to share in the work of civilizing an unruly people. Margaret introduced many changes that added dignity to the daily life of the court. At her suggestion a royal guard was appointed to attend the King on occasions of ceremony. The use of gold and silver plate at table was another innovation due to her. It is said, too, that she brought into her adopted country the custom of giving thanks after meals, from which the grace cup received in Scotland the name of "St. Margaret's blessing." She dressed handsomely; she looked on this almost as a duty she owed to her rank; besides it encouraged and improved the art of weaving in Scotland and brought into the kingdom more and finer cloth from abroad, thus fostering Scotland's small foreign commerce.

Every form of industry was encouraged and if possible carried on

royal apartments were woven or made of tapestry or some other in the palace under the Queen's supervision. Hangings for the rich material. Many of these, as well as the garments of the Queen and her ladies, were profusely embroidered in silk or gold threads. Most of the precious material came from the more advanced communities on the Continent, though many of the dyes doubtless were made by the workers themselves, thus furnishing another occupation for busy brains and fingers and developing every variety of talent that existed. The gathering of herbs, not only for dyes but for simple medicinal remedies, was another task of this busy household. Drinking cups and other articles were made for the royal table of gold, though "some of these," says her biographer, Turgot, with great simplicity, "were lacquered so as to look like gold." Even the delicate and artistic work of ornamenting missals and books of prayer was attempted, though on a modest scale, as became a country where such work was new. Theodoric, at one time Margaret's confessor, seems to have been in charge of this work, which he had doubtless learned in his convent. He tells us of some of the work that he did with his own hands in the decoration of the holy books. All this added to the refinement of daily life and developed a sense of beauty in a people whose tastes in this direction had not been cultivated, largely because of the warlike state of society that had so long existed north of the Tweed.

The King in the intervals between petty wars with his English neighbors took much interest in the beautiful work carried on by Margaret. Though he was unable to read her books, he loved them for her sake. He often had special copies made for her of portions of Scripture, such as the Psalter or the Gospels, which it was the custom to compile in small volumes for the use of the laity. After they had been beautifully bound and decorated with gold and gems, it pleased him to give them to her. Frequently he would kiss her books of devotion, through love and reverence for his saintly wife and the things on which she set such store.

One special book of Queen Margaret's has had an eventful history. It was a book of the Gospels, that is, the portions usually read at Mass. It was of vellum, adorned in the usual way with gold and precious stones and having, in addition, what was not so common then, full page illustrations of the Evangelists. The figures recall the Byzantine style, like so much early work throughout Europe, but much of the detail is said by experts to be essentially English; in particular the clothing, which they declare is undoubtedly that of the period of Cnut. Tradition says that this book was lost, having in some way been dropped into a stream, and that as befitted the holy book of so holy a queen it was not injured by the

wetting it received, though it lay in the water for a long time. A book corresponding to the description of Queen Margaret's came to light in 1887, which shows unmistakable signs of having had a thorough soaking. It was bought at public sale in London and is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Those competent to judge declare it to be an extremely valuable specimen of the work of that period. Further evidence in favor of the theory of its being Queen Margaret's book is that it contains a poem in the handwriting of the late eleventh century describing how it was once "the property of a king and a holy queen" and how it met with the fate described above. This poem is thought to have been written by Turgot, Margaret's confessor and biographer, who mentions the same incident in his life of the Queen.

The Queen's care for the education of her six sons and her two daughters did not suffer because of her labors in a larger field. From the beginning the boys were placed under tutors carefully chosen, who were especially directed to look after their moral as well as their mental training. A Spartan regulation was that their charges were to be punished when naughty. The daughters, Mary and Edith, who was afterwards known both as Maud and Matilda, were sent to Romsey Abbey, in Southern England, where their aunt, Christina, was a nun. There they were instructed in all that was taught to women of rank in that age. Literature (the scanty amount that existed), the study of the Scriptures, needlework, the making and use of simple medicines, and "all good customs" comprised the education that was to fit them for their high station.

The care of the poor was a sacred duty of all women, but especially of those whose position and wealth gave them greater opportunities. Margaret distinguished herself by her untiring ardor in this work, and we may be sure that her children did their share. Her husband, too, followed her example. Together they personally ministered to the poor, especially to the sick and suffering. At one time the Queen supported in full twenty-four persons, besides giving temporary aid to others who applied daily for help at the palace. Sometimes as many as three hundred would be found waiting in the palace yard until the doors of the great hall would be opened. They knew they would be received with sympathy; Malcolm and Margaret vied with each other in kindness, waiting on these humble guests with their own hands. But above all Margaret's tender pity went out to the little orphans—and there were so many of them in this time of frequent border raids. In Lent, particularly, the Queen redoubled her good works; her first act after hearing one or more Masses was to minister to nine little orphans. It was only after performing this duty of charity that she partook of her first frugal

meal. Never was she known to neglect any one in distress; if her own private purse was exhausted, as was often the case, she would turn to those about her and beg for money or even articles of clothing if necessary to relieve a case of immediate suffering. A story is told of her that has a very modern sound. It is said she would take money for her charities from her husband's purse, and that he, loving and admiring her as he did, laughed when he was told of it, thought he sometimes pretended that she was going to be punished for such open robbery. The royal pair seem to have been of one mind in all these acts of personal service that brought about so great an improvement in the daily life of his subjects.

Not only did Margaret thus aid the poor whom she could reach personally, but through her influence on her husband laws were passed by which the rights of the poor were safeguarded; so that it became more difficult for the ruling class to abuse or rob them as had been done so frequently. In this reign another great step in national reform was taken when it was decreed that soldiers should not take from the people forcibly what they needed, but that they should pay a fair equivalent for all that they got.

As a representative of the best Anglo-Saxon blood, Margaret naturally took a great interest in those Saxons who had lost all through the Norman conquest. In a number of instances she paid the ransom of those who had been made captives, many of whom were living in actual slavery in Scotland. Not satisfied with helping those whom chance brought to her notice, she used to send her agents to look up all who might be in such a plight to any part of her realm. At this time prisoners were treated most harshly; Margaret put a stop to it whenever she could learn of it and had the prisoners set at liberty, if this were possible. Besides those thus forcibly brought to Scotland, many Saxon nobles fled there after Harold's defeat and death and were welcomed by Malcolm and given positions of trust. Often preference was given to such foreigners in filling positions about the court. In the struggle that followed the coming of the Conqueror, Normans as well as Anglo-Saxons found their way to the faraway northern kingdom. Malcolm was shrewd enough to realize the influence for good of the chivalry of Normandy upon his rough subjects. Some Norman nobles were given estates, by which means they were induced to settle in the country and thus become affiliated with it. In the event of war they would of course be bound to defend their adopted land. Their knowledge of a higher kind of warfare was a benefit to men who had been fighting more as barbarians and were more or less strangers to the chivalric treatment of the conquered, particularly women and children. All this attention to foreigners would hardly

tend to make the Queen more popular with the Scottish nobles, but her gentleness, dignity and reputation for justice seem to have stifled for the time being any ill feeling that might have been aroused.

One of Queen Margaret's charities was to make it easier for pilgrims to get to St. Andrews, which, as Mrs. Oliphant says, was "the ecclesiastical capital" and consequently "the centre of national life" of the kingdom. On each side of the Forth the Queen had houses put up where those wanting to make the pilgrimage could stay free of cost while they were awaiting an opportunity of crossing. In stormy weather days would sometimes elapse before this would be safe. Food was supplied to the pilgrims and the boats in which they crossed were provided free of expense. In addition an opportunity was afforded them of buying such extra comforts as they wished. This "Queen's Ferry" retains its name to-day.

Margaret's zeal for religion was an actuating principle of her life and showed itself in many ways, especially in the building of churches and monasteries to the honor of God, the encouragement of right living, and the service of humanity. One tiny spot connected with her private devotions has a pretty story connected with it. It is really only an opening in the side of a rocky hill near one of the Towers of Dunfermline, which is known as St. Margaret's Cave Oratory. The King, missing his wife one day, found her engaged here in prayer; he immediately took steps to have the little place fitted up appropriately as a chapel. It is a far cry from this obscure but beloved shrine to the imposing Church of the Holy Trinity, already mentioned, which she built at the time of her marriage. The chapel of the Castle of Edinburgh is another of Margaret's buildings; it is very small, in the severest Norman style, and is the oldest building remaining in Edinburgh to-day.

Some six years after their marriage the King, "with the confirmation and testimony of Queen Margaret, my wife, etc." founded the Abbey of Dunfermline. It seems like rather a remarkable instance of a democratic spirit that after enumerating the Bishops, earls and barons the charter should go on to say "the clergy and the *people* also acquiescing." The famous monastery of Iona naturally attracted Margaret's interest. She rebuilt the portions that had fallen into ruins and established other communities in the hope that they might be worthy successors to those men of sanctity and learning that had followed St. Columba when he brought religion and learning to Scotland. One of the old chronicles tells us of a compact entered into by the royal pair with the Convent of St. Cuthbert in Durham. Following a general custom of the time by which the laity associated themselves with the good works of the monks and were in turn aided by their prayers, Malcolm and Mar-

garet took it upon themselves "to nourish every day one poor man" and, further, "two poor men shall be kept for them in the Lord's Supper," goes on the agreement. The benefits of participation in all the good works of the monks were to be shared by the King and Queen and their children, both during and after their lives, and their anniversary was to be celebrated on King Athelstan's day, November 12. Judging from the choice of a Saxon ruler's feast day, it would appear that it was the Queen who made the selection.

The most remarkable public work in the interest of religion undertaken by the Scottish Queen was the part she took in a council held by Malcolm to confer with the clergy and nobility on certain reprehensible customs the people had fallen into. These customs were not all of them so important in themselves, but the general effect of some of them was to estrange the Scottish Church somewhat from the rest of Catholic Christianity in discipline, though not in doctrine. Naturally so staunch a lover of the truth as Margaret had much at heart the unity of her Catholic subjects with the head of Christendom, so she strove with great zeal to remedy these abuses. It appears to have been the custom in Scotland to consider Lent as beginning not on Ash Wednesday, but on the Monday following. Margaret persuaded her people to follow the general custom of Catholic Europe by counting Lent from Ash Wednesday. A more serious and really evil practice seems to have been the neglect of receiving the Holy Eucharist at Easter; for this the excuse of the Scots was, "We feel that we are sinners and are afraid to partake of that sacrament lest we eat and drink judgment to ourselves." In refutation of this the Queen quoted the words of Our Saviour Himself, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you." The Scots finally saw the force of her arguments and were convinced of the error of their conduct. They agreed, too, to follow the ways of their fellow-Catholics in the observance of Sunday. They seem to have been keeping up a sort of double observance regarding Saturday as a day of rest and Sunday as a day set apart for public worship in honor of the Resurrection. The Queen's appeal on this point has been preserved. "Let us," she says, "keep the Lord's Day in reverence, on account of Our Lord's Resurrection from the dead on that day; let us do no servile work on that day, in which, as we know, we were redeemed from the slavery of the devil. Pope Gregory says we must cease from earthly labor on the Lord's Day and continue instant in prayer." During the three days of the council Margaret pleaded with such earnestness for the reformation of these and other minor abuses that all the points at issue were satisfactorily settled. What she said was

translated to those present by the King, who presided over the council in person.

It may seem singular that a woman, even though so learned and holy a queen, should have conducted a work of such importance as holding a council, but by her life-long training Margaret was eminently fitted for the task, unusual though it was. She was a woman of high intellect, of retentive memory, whose whole life had been passed in the study of the Scriptures. Her Book of Hours, her Psalter, her copy of the Gospels were her daily companions, and she meditated constantly on what she read. The two confessors she chose at different periods of her life, Turgot and Theodoric, were men of deep piety and learning, able to direct a person of her character and position. In addition, at her request Archbishop Lanfranc sent her "Friar Godwin and two monks to instruct her in the proper method of conducting the service of God." Lanfranc had some correspondence with the Queen at one time; a Latin letter he wrote her is still extant. A favorite occupation of Margaret's after listening to affairs of state was discussing matters of religion with the various ecclesiastics attached to the court and others accredited to the King on special missions. So humble and loyal and well-instructed a daughter of the Church was hardly in danger of going astray either in doctrine or in practice.

The object of Margaret's greatest veneration was a portion of the True Cross, known as the "Holy Rood of Scotland." Its history appears to be well authenticated. This particular portion was kept in Rome from the time of St. Helena until it was given by Pope Marinus to King Alfred, who was known to have been on the Continent, presumably in Belgium, in the year 883. It is probable that it was at this time that he received the "Lignum Domini," as the relic was then called. This precious gift was kept in Winchester, Alfred's capital, until Margaret, Alfred's lineal descendant, took it with her when she went to Scotland as its queen. The gold cross in which the fragment was kept was much carved and set with large diamonds and enclosed in an ebony case, hence its historic name, the "Black Rood of Scotland." After Margaret's death it passed through many vicissitudes. It was first placed in Holyrood House, as the abbey built by Margaret's son David was called, and was so venerated by the Scots that formal oaths of allegiance were taken on it as on the Gospels. Its presence in different places, both in Scotland and England, was shown by various documents in the centuries following Margaret's death, until in 1346 it was carried to Durham Abbey, where it remained until the abbey was suppressed under Henry VIII. Its loss was deeply felt in Scotland.

Margaret's private life was an inspiration in her own home and a model for those of her subjects. In the arrangement of her daily duties she seems to have shown the same clear judgment as in matters of public interest. Her days must have been well ordered to be so well filled. Affairs of state, works of charity, superintendence of her household with its varied interests yet left her many hours which she devoted to prayer. She usually said matins with some of her ladies and heard several Masses. We know that she studied the Scriptures assiduously; she used to ask her confessor to get copies for her own use and to give to others. In Lent she not only fasted, but rose at midnight to pray; she recited the whole Psalter daily, sometimes as often as three times in a day. When she gave food and clothing to the poor she kissed their feet in remembrance of the Lord in whose name she served them. Turgot says: "When she spoke with me about the salvation of the soul and the sweetness of the life which is eternal, every word she uttered was so filled with grace that the Holy Spirit who truly dwelt within her breast evidently spoke by her lips." A great sweetness of manner seems to have accompanied the austerity of her life and was no doubt partly the secret of the influence she wielded. If she proposed a reform it was with a graciousness that took away the appearance of faultfinding.

While still in middle life Margaret's health began to fail; she was obliged to forego accompanying her husband on his expeditions undertaken at this time, being unable to stand the fatigue of riding on horseback, which was the only means even royalty had of going about. In 1093 the King had a quarrel with William Rufus and invaded England, where he besieged Alnwick Castle. Tradition has it that the garrison had surrendered and that as the keys of the castle were being handed to Malcolm on a spear, a knight thought to be Roger de Mowbray treacherously slew him. Edward, the heir apparent, was killed in the same battle. The Queen was staying in Edinburgh during the King's absence. She seems to have been in rather a melancholy frame of mind and it was a cause of much anxiety to her. During her illness, which began at this time, she was conversing one day with her director and said to him: "Farewell, my life draws to a close; I shall not continue much longer in this world, but you will live after me for a considerable time. There are two things which I beg of you; one is that, as long as you live, you will remember me in your prayers; the other is that you will take some care about my sons and daughters."

Though weak from illness, she called in the leading nobles and recommended her children to their care. Then her beloved poor

were sent for and relieved for the last time. She then rose and heard Mass in her oratory, receiving Holy Communion devoutly at the hands of her chaplain. He remained near during the greater part of the day, reading the Psalms to her; later she had the Black Hood brought, which she held in her hands and kissed repeatedly. As she lay in her weakness her thoughts divided between her beloved husband, away on the field of battle, and her preparation for the world to come, her son Edgar appeared suddenly in her room. Fearing to alarm her, yet realizing that the sad news must be told, he hesitated, but the Queen begged him by the Holy Cross to tell her the truth. The loss of her husband and son filled her with grief, though she was in a measure prepared, having felt ever since the King had left that he would not survive this expedition. It would seem that she had only been waiting for the confirmation of her fears to give up her hold upon earth; she lingered but a short time after Edgar's return, passing away with a prayer upon her lips.

After Margaret's death a strange thing happened. Her loveliness, her charities, her wise labors for the good of her country, all seem to have been forgotten. By one of those singular revulsions that sometimes occur, the nobility turned against her, glad perhaps to be relieved from even her gentle yoke and ready to assert themselves in their rough freedom. The King was dead, who could have restrained the ill feeling, and "Saxon Margaret," after a life of untiring self-devotion to her lawless people, could not even be buried from Edinburgh Castle openly, much less with the customary royal pomp. Indeed, so great was the fear felt by the Queen's children and her immediate loyal attendants that the sacred remains were hurriedly removed from the castle. Carried down from the high rock on which the royal residence stood and hidden by a kindly mist, so opportune as to be thought miraculous by those who had known and loved the saintly Queen, Margaret went at her death as a fugitive to Dunfermline, where as a bride she had been received with so loyal a love and honor, and where it seemed fitting she should be buried. Across the Queen's Ferry the small procession passed; what a mockery it seems that its kindly offices could be given only in secret to her who had helped so many to cross it on their earthly pilgrimages! Reverently the body of the Queen was laid before the "rood altar" in the church at Dunfermline, and the King was afterwards buried beside her—another innovation, as the Scotch kings had previously been buried in Iona.

The reaction against the Queen and her Saxon influence began immediately. Donald Bane, spoken of by historians as "a wild Scot," who seems to have avoided his brother's court during Mal-

colm's life, represented the old Celtic spirit which chafed under the régime of the Saxon, its hereditary foe. With all the discontented at his back, he started an insurrection against his brother's children, whom he banished. Edinburgh was besieged, and it was only after some months that a Saxon army placed Malcolm's son Edgar on the throne, but the kingdom was disturbed by a civil war that lasted for five years.

Edgar left no children, and Alexander, another son of Malcolm, came to the throne. Alexander was surnamed "the Fierce," a description of his manners rather than of his reign. He also was succeeded by a brother, David, who appears to have united the good qualities of both parents. He began his reign by banishing all foreigners, an act of wise policy in view of the irritated state of the nobility. A Scotch writer, with very pronounced views against royalty, sums up what all historians have said in substance of David, that he was a "perfect example of a good and patriot king." Not only did he perform faithfully all the duties that fell to the lot of an absolute monarch, but he labored conscientiously for the good of all his subjects. Frequently he gave up his pleasures, such as the chase, of which he was very fond, to hear the cause of a poor man. He founded many monasteries, the most famous being Holyrood—"the House of the Holy Rood"—already referred to, Melrose and Dryburgh, whose memory has been so worthily preserved for us by Sir Walter Scott.

The first reaction against Saxon Margaret was followed in the next century by a spirit of veneration which led to a "petition of the nobles, clergy and people of Scotland" for Queen Margaret's canonization. This was in 1250, and the ceremony was performed by Pope Innocent IV. After her canonization the Queen's remains were removed to the Lady Aisle of the new choir of the Church of the Holy Trinity, the same that had been built by the saint. A pretty legend is told of the sudden heaviness of the body that occurred as the shrine with the relics was being borne past the tomb of the King. The story is that the coffin grew so heavy it became impossible to carry it, until at the suggestion of one of those present Malcolm's body was taken up too—the model and humble wife not being willing to receive so much honor unless it could be shared by her husband. Both bodies were then buried in the same mausoleum, which was an object of veneration down to the time of the Reformers in 1560, when it was destroyed. Margaret's own shrine was of oak carved; in this was a silver case set with gold and precious stones. Her feast, which had at first been kept on the day of death in November, was afterwards changed to the 10th of June in compliance with the petition of King James

VII., who wished to avoid its conflicting with another celebration. The Collect for the Mass of the day naturally celebrates the crowning work of the saint's life it is as follows: "O God! who didst render the blessed Queen Margaret truly admirable by reason of her eminent charity toward the poor, grant that by reason of her intercession and example Thy charity may ever increase in our hearts."

There is a tendency among moderns to believe that such great benefactions to religious houses as were given by both Margaret and her son David is not a practical work and that it tends to encourage idleness and pauperism. It should always be borne in mind, however, that the interests served by the monasteries were extremely comprehensive. In the first place, the monks were primarily agriculturalists. They were thus producers among a warlike people constantly called away from peaceful pursuits to repel a border foe or even to invade the enemy's country. Then they taught the art of agriculture to the rude peasantry of the neighborhood as well as to their own dependents and servants. And the concensus of opinion among historians, Catholic and non-Catholic, on this subject is, as one of them has expressed it, "that their vassals and bondsmen were proverbially said to live well under the crozier." Another benefit was that as a rule, even in this rude age, convents and monasteries and their lands usually escaped devastation by marauders, and so became a nucleus whence the acts of peace could once more extend their beneficent influence when war had ceased. Of course, it is well known that monasteries were practically the only inns where travelers could be sure of shelter and food; the very name "hostel" keeps us in mind of this under its modern form, "hotel." As to practical philanthropy, the very cornerstone of the monastic life was hospitality, the care of the poor and the nursing of the sick.

Architecture was among the first of the arts practiced by the monks, aided by the wealth of royalty and the nobility. Travelers of to-day have these same monks to thank for the beauty that attracts so many to view the ruins of Melrose and similar gems of the builder's art that date from the so-called "dark ages," the early twelfth century. Every species of artist and artisan work then known was carried on in the monasteries; even a primitive system of water works existed in some places, while the artistic work of making stained glass, writing and illuminating manuscripts and working in gold and precious stones was carried on generally. Not only were the robes used by the clergy in solemn celebrations embroidered in the monasteries, but often the ornaments, worn by men and women alike as part of the national costume. Over the

kirtle it was the custom to wear a mantle fastened with a large brooch; an armlet of gold, such as Macbeth wears in the play, was generally added. These things as well as bells and shrines of various metals were often the work of monks, who in many cases carved decorations of intricate laced designs and animal forms, frequently of grotesque shapes. Such examples of this work as are found to-day are a great help in portraying the life and dress of the period, the more valuable as Scotland had so few written records of these early times, being in that respect much behind both Ireland and England, from which latter country most of our knowledge of the reign of Malcolm is derived. A man or woman who founded a great monastery in the Middle Ages was, therefore, like a person to-day who might build a hospital, or an asylum, or an art school—or all three. It is easy to see how in the cultivation of the sense of beauty the modern “arts and crafts school” is the evolution of the workshop of monastery or convent or palace school.

Our most intimate acquaintance with the life of Margaret is obtained from her biography by Turgot, a Saxon monk of good family, who was her confessor for many years and who in 1109 was made Bishop of St. Andrews by Margaret's son, David. The Life was written at the request of Margaret's daughter, the “good Queen Maud,” wife of Henry I. of England. In a letter to Queen Maud, Turgot says: “You have, by the request you made, commanded me, for a request of yours is to me a command, to offer you in writing the story of the life of your mother, whose memory is held in veneration. How acceptable that life was to God you have often heard by the concordant praise of many. You remind me how in this matter my evidence is especially trustworthy (thanks to her great and familiar intercourse with me).”

Not only was Turgot better fitted to write her life as having been for so long an adviser as to her good works and a sharer in them, but he was probably the only person fitted, from a literary standpoint, for the task. The King, as we know, could not even read, yet he had had the advantage of spending some years at the court of the Confessor, which was the seat of all the Anglo-Saxon culture there was, leavened by the Norman influence, which was much greater. Who, then, of Malcolm's court but an ecclesiastic could have undertaken the task? He says of her that she had an “understanding keen to comprehend any matter whatever it might be,” a “great tenacity of memory—enabling her to store it up,” “along with a graceful flow of language to express it.” As to the “secrets” of her spiritual life, Turgot says that he felt unworthy of being admitted to so intimate a friendship with one so holy. While some

historians find fault with her ascetic practices, all concur in praising her for her good and active life. Samuel Cowan, in his "Life," published in 1911, says her reign contributed materially to the welfare and general prosperity of the nation and that she will always retain her position as one of the greatest, if not the greatest of the Scottish queens. Skene, in "Celtic Scotland," adds his meed of praise; "for purity of motives, for her earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion and great personal piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and entire self-abnegation she is unsurpassed." Surely, her works praise her in the gates, and not the least of those to be attributed to her was the good lives of her children and her children's children. Only one of her six sons seems to have forsaken the training and example of his mother, and that only temporarily. Christian devoted herself to a life of good works in the cloister, and the reigns of David in Scotland and Matilda in England were signalized by public and private acts of devotion to their subjects, and Matilda's was conspicuous for learning and the encouragement of the highest in religion and literature.

ANNE STUART BAILEY.

New York, N. Y.

"THE SHEPHEARDS CALENDAR."

THE chief characteristic qualification of a great man is that he should not be small. He should not stoop to unworthy vilification and slander, he should not be partisan, he should state the case of his opponents as fully as he states his own. It is rather disappointing, therefore, to find among the men whose names are ranked the greatest in English poetry that many have stood, like Bunyan's Man with the Muck Rake, with their eyes on the sticks and straw and filth and have seldom looked aloft. They are narrow in that they never seem able to appreciate where they do not agree—an exceptional ability which is a common element in the broad spirits of Shakespeare and Tennyson. Of Wordsworth, and Milton and Spenser our verdict cannot be so favorable. Before the Protestant Revolt every English poet was, potentially at least, a Catholic poet. Since then most have been Protestants, of whom none protested more vigorously than did Edmund Spenser, the sweet singer of the "Faerie Queen."

It may be said in extenuation of his obvious ill-feeling that he lived in an age when the division between Anglican and Roman was most bitterly marked. The year of the publication of "The Shepheards Calender," 1579, was particularly propitious for a partisan comment on High Church and Puritan, on Anglican and Roman differences. Thus we find in that collection of eclogues the man who could pen an epic of flattery so well that it became an encyclopedia of moral philosophy, who wrote light sonnets to charm a lady and by their deftness charmed the world; we find such a man engaged in vicious satire and invidious slander.

Most of the twelve eclogues which go to make up the book known as "The Shepheards Calender" are purely pastoral pieces true to the literary affectations of the time. Some are devoted to the sad romantic tale of a repining lover, some to the strange conceit of rhyming debates which came out of the South along with other Renaissance artificialities and ideals, such as the echo-device, the masquerading shepherds and their lasses, the conventional *virtu* and the quaint "Platonick Love." But there are four of his eclogues which have been discussed from time to time as bearing on religious or on political questions. Religion was then considered fair game, and we must not forget that whatever Elizabeth's convictions may have been, if indeed she had any, they were always made secondary to her political position as head of the Church and State. These four eclogues, then, which go under the titles of the months of February, May, July and September, have been scrutinized by in-

numerable scholars and students with a view to piercing behind the allegory to find contemporary allusion in a name "being well-ordered," in an incident transferred from men of state to beasts of the field or fowls of the barnyard, or in anagram and cypher.

The February Eclogue, in spite of the plain statement in the "argument" that it is "rather morall and generall, then bent to any secrete or particular purpose," has been construed by some as an attack upon the ancient faith of England and by others as a parable of the fall of the Duke of Norfolk:

"An auncient tree  
Sacred with many a mysteree,  
And often crost with the priestes crewe,  
And often halowed with holy-water dewe:  
But silke fancies weren foolerie,  
And broughten this oake to this miserye."

The May Eclogue is specifically purported to be representative of the two types of ministers or pastors, the Protestant and the Catholic, and spares no feelings in assaulting the faith and practice of the Pope and his prelates.

The July Eclogue, which contrasts the actions and the desires of good and bad pastors, has little to do with the question of Catholicism, for it is admitted on all hands that Morell, the bad shepherd, is Bishop Aylmer, who was the chief mark for the Puritans' attacks, both in the Martin Marprelate controversy and during the years prior and subsequent. His chief vice seems to have been a High Church imitation of Catholics, "yclad in purple and pall," and his next the fact that he misused and misappropriated church funds and also neglected and oppressed his flock.

The September Eclogue deals with John Young, Bishop of Rochester, to whom Spenser was in 1578 private secretary. Young had been very favorably disposed toward the Catholic recusants twenty and ten years earlier, but Grosart calls him a "Puritan-Bishop." There has been sharp controversy on this point between eminent scholars; but whatever the decision arrived at on the specific identity, opinion seems agreed that, whether the "far country" from which the evil reports of oppression come be Rome or London, whether the oppressors be Catholic or Anglican, Spenser was putting himself on record against all that was "high" in religion.

Taking the four Eclogues by and large, there is but one conclusion to which we can come. Two of Spenser's "Fowre Hymns" (which he later published with an elaborate apology) are distinctly decorative, rich, ritualistic, Renaissance, Dantesque, almost Catholic in tone. "The Faerie Queene" is Puritanical in religious and in

political allegory. Scholars in the field seem now fairly well agreed that there was a change in the mind of Spenser, that he shifted with the shifting years from mid-century catholicity to Puritan narrowness, though in no sense from Catholicism to Puritanism. Professor Padelford has well indicated this transition as it is depicted in the irreconcilable inconsistencies between the first pair and the second pair of poems which were published together as the "Fowre Hymns," but which were written at widely different periods. Times altered and Puritan austerity came into the thoughts and feelings of the people. Spenser was, in common with most other literary men, susceptible to opinions which drifted into the minds and hearts of his community. He was further prejudiced against the Catholic viewpoint by his residence in Ireland. And that is why we must say that this one of the men who are ranked high among the poets of England was hostile to the Catholic faith and the Catholic people.

It is a fact which we must remember when we come to a reading, as we all must, of the great masterpieces of English literature. It is a fact which is further complicated and rendered more dangerous when we recall that Edmund Spenser has ever been called "the poet's poet" because he has had such a wide and lasting influence on other British men of letters, an influence which is felt in his versifying, in his philosophy and in his whole conception of how and why the world moves or should move.

The best thing that can be said in his favor on this rather narrow and minute question is a very minute comment in itself; namely, that the most intolerant and most pointed statements and allusions are not to be found so much in the body of the poem as in the running "glosse" supplied by the elusive and oft-discussed "E. K." But, at any rate, whether the satire of Spenser actually be against the Catholic Church or against the High Church party—as an ingenious and frantic scholar, Mr. Higginson, has claimed in the face of withering criticism—we should not forget that Spenser considered these abuses characteristic of the Church which is in communion with the Holy See at Rome. That in this particular he might have been attacking High Church Anglicanism is immaterial beside the fact that he considered it Catholic in tone and therefore obnoxious. Edmund Spenser was, without doubt, hostile to Catholicism, and intolerant in his hostility.

FRANCIS PAUL.

## In Memoriam

Most Rev. Edmond F. Prendergast, D. D.  
1843—1918

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW mourns the death of Most Rev. Archbishop Prendergast, under whose direction it has been published for the last seven years.

His interest in the magazine dates back to its beginning in 1876, when he was among its first subscribers. That interest was increased when as Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia he became president of the Catholic Standard and Times Publishing Company.

It attained its full growth when on the death of Archbishop Ryan it passed into his hands and its publication was carried on under his direction.

He appreciated its value as an exponent of sound faith and morality, and he realized the responsibility of its mission.

He was in sympathy always with those whose task it was to produce it, and knowing from experience the difficulties that confront the Catholic publisher at all times, and especially the publisher of a quarterly, he was patient, indulgent and kind.

His prudence, judgment and ability were always at the command of THE QUARTERLY, and were freely given on all occasions.

This writing shall be an acknowledgment, an appreciation and a thanksgiving.

## Book Reviews.

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A MEMORIAL OF ANDREW J. SHIPMAN: His Life and Writings. Edited by Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D. 8vo., pp. 362. New York, Encyclopedia Press.

We learn from the foreword that "This volume is a testimonial of the high esteem and admiration in which the late Andrew J. Shipman was held by his friends. It is also in a measure the perpetuation of some of his many achievements in numerous fields of activity, as well as an inadequate though affectionate tribute to his virtues as a citizen and a churchman, whose thought, whose word and whose deed were always in perfect accord with the high ideal of life which he cherished so ardently and exemplified so nobly throughout his career."

There is a biographical sketch of twenty pages, and the rest of the volume is made up of essays by Mr. Shipman which he contributed to the Catholic Encyclopedia and to various magazines, principally Catholic.

Andrew J. Shipman was born in Virginia of English ancestry in 1857. His parents were not Catholics at the time of his birth, nor for some years afterwards. He became a Catholic while he was a student at Georgetown. He remained there seven years in all. While at Georgetown and for some time after his graduation he was editor of a local paper in Virginia near his home which was known as the *Vienna Times*.

He came to New York in 1884, and after a course of law in the University of New York was admitted to the bar in 1886. One who knew him well as a lawyer and is capable of judging has said of him:

"Andrew Jackson Shipman was a forceful advocate, a wise counsellor and an eminent ecclesiastical lawyer for more than a generation at the New York Bar."

He became distinguished as an ecclesiastical lawyer in the Catholic, the Orthodox Russian and the Episcopal Churches. Notwithstanding the fullness of his legal career and its many duties, Mr. Shipman gave his time and labor to many enterprises beyond professional limits. He was called upon in many ways and never failed to respond. Outside of his professional life he devoted himself principally to the interest of the Slavs in the United States. His efforts, however, were not limited to the Slavic people in this country. His assistance and counsel were just as readily given to the Syrian Catholics. When Bishop Ortynsky, the first Bishop

of the Uniat Greek Rite in this country, came to the United States in 1897 Mr. Shipman became his adviser.

His contributions to literature showed the most painstaking care and conscientious research. One of the most striking illustrations is seen in the several articles which he wrote on the famous Ferrier case, which he studied at first hand, having been in Spain at the time, and which he treated most decisively and convincingly.

He was a member of some twenty-two different organizations, charitable, social, fraternal or religious, and was active in nearly all of them. He was an excellent linguist, speaking no less than thirteen languages. He was a devoted husband, a public-spirited citizen who responded promptly to every call of merit, an exemplary Catholic and splendid exemplar of the lay apostolate. His life and work are well worth recording and his example is inspiring.

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THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF NAZARETH, Kentucky. By *Anna Blanche McGill*. 8vo., pp. 436. Illustrated. New York: The Encyclopedia Press.

Nowhere is the Parable of the Mustard Seed more strikingly illustrated than in the history of religious orders. Generally if not invariably founded by an unknown, humble, pious soul, who seems to be forced out into the light by some hidden power and made a leader of others, instead of being a humble follower; beginning in some obscure corner with none of the elements of success, humanly speaking, almost laughable in their simplicity and indeed too often subject to the ridicule of the unthinking and worldly-wise, they grow from almost nothing to large, important, efficient communities, destined by God to be most valuable agents to preserve and transmit the true faith, while conquering and scattering the powers of darkness. The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth are no exception to this rule. Beginning a hundred years ago in two rooms of a log cabin with two members, the community now numbers its subjects by the hundred, ministering to the sick, caring for the aged and instructing the young in hospitals, homes and schools in various States throughout the country.

It is a long step from the little log cabin of 1812 to the splendid motherhouse and school of 1917. The story of the growth of this mustard seed is told in this history, and it is both interesting and edifying. It is also a notable addition to American Church history. It brings before us not only the courageous, holy women who have given their lives to the service of God in religion, but also the saintly, zealous churchmen, pioneers of the faith in this country, who fostered and directed the community. Truly can we say in reading such stories these were giants in those days. How they

accomplished so much with so little excites our wonder and admiration. May it also spur us on to imitation.

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THE CATHOLIC'S WORK IN THE WORLD. A practical solution of religious and social problems of to-day. By Rev. Joseph Husslein, S. J., associate editor of "America," lecturer on social history, Fordham University School of Sociology and Social Service, author of "The Church and Social Problems," "Church and Politics," etc. 12mo, cloth, \$1, postpaid.

Here is a book which every Catholic layman and every Catholic woman can use with profit. It is entirely modern in its applications, and based upon modern conditions in civil life, in the courts, in the school, in the press, in sociological and economic developments. It is not a book of mere theories, but of definite advice and practical suggestion in all that can most promote the civil welfare and the extension of God's kingdom upon earth, touching upon the great religious and social problems of the day, and studying them in the light of divine faith, proposing an intelligent and Catholic coöperation.

It stimulates to action, is written with the desire of disclosing to the laity in particular their wonderful opportunities of advancing the divine interests of God in the world. If distributed wisely it will continue the work of missions, retreats and Catholic revivals of every kind, making practical the principles inculcated there. In general it may be said that it unfolds before the Catholic laity the loftiest motives of their holy faith, and urges upon them the proper use of those means which God Himself has given in His Church to enable them to accomplish faithfully and successfully the great work of our day. It does all this in a series of short, pithy essays, which can be read quickly, easily understood and readily put into practice.

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA. By Thomas Kilby Smith, of the Philadelphia Bar. Preface by Walter George Smith. 12mo., pp. 318. New York: The University Press.

"The object of the series of handbooks of which this is the pioneer is to give in compact form the salient facts relating to the history, development and present social, economic and political status of the different States of the Union.

"It has been sought to treat as completely as possible in each chapter such matters as are essential to a full understanding of the physical characteristics, the aborigines, the colonists and later emigrants, the framework of government as first established and as it exists to-day. A study is made of the daily life of the people and methods of administration, of governmental, religious, social

and domestic affairs, of State finance, of the sources of wealth, of the churches and other religious bodies, of conditions affecting the home, and the educational system, the professions, literature, art, science and finally of penology."

This outline of the scope of the work may seem pretentious at first, and one might be tempted to wonder how so much could be told in such narrow space, but with the understanding that the volume before us is rather a handbook than a history, or rather an outline drawing than a finished picture, we must acknowledge that all its claims are made good. The bibliography at the end of each chapter furnishes the reader with a guide for further investigation.

The statistical material has been very painstakingly gathered, is correct and up-to-date; it furnishes by no means the least important part of the work. The author is to be congratulated on his success in producing a compendium which is concise and clear, without being dry or tiresome.

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THE FOUR GOSPELS: With a Practical Critical Commentary. By Rev. Charles J. Callan, O. P. 8vo., pp. 555. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

Any new commentary on the Sacred Scriptures is a notable event, and one may reasonably ask at the outset, why a new commentary? Their author answers the question by informing us that he knows all the excellent commentaries that already exist and appreciates them. He acknowledges that they answer the purpose of full and exhaustive treatises and reference works, but none of them answers the need of the student for a handbook, and therefore the present volume.

Father Callan knows this need because his years of experience in the classroom have brought it home to him. He knows also what such a book should contain, and therefore he approaches his task with a definite end in view. In treating a profuse subject briefly there will always be a difference of opinion as to what shall be included or excluded, what shall be treated briefly or at length, what shall be adopted or rejected. The author was fully aware of this, and therefore he states his mode of procedure thus:

"A suitable commentary on the Gospels, or on any part of the New Testament, must provide many things. It must not only explain and interpret the sacred text in conformity with the teachings of the Church and the doctrines of the Fathers and theologians, but it must also, to be profitable, take into account the conditions and needs of the times and of those who are to study and use it. Hence it must avoid excess in length and excess in brevity. It

must take care to treat everything suited to its end and purpose, but it must at the same time strive to avoid things useless and irrelevant." Those for whom he writes need, he says, a clear explanation of the meaning of the sacred text; a clear removal of chronological and topographical difficulties of moment; a reconciliation of historical and other apparent discrepancies, and an indication of those dogmatic and moral passages on which theology depends. And all this in the briefest and simplest manner. Such a commentary on the Gospels the author has endeavored to provide. Clearness of vision as to the need, full equipment acquired by years of study and experience, united to long, patient labor, have produced the result which we see before us.

The book should have a large sale, because it answers a need that is pressing and definite. The reverend author is to be congratulated on the completion of so important a task.

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**MANNA OF THE SOUL.** By *Rev. F. X. Lasance.* 544 pages. 16mo. New York: Benziger Bros.

This edition of "Manna of the Soul" contains the same prayers and devotions as the Vest-Pocket Edition, but set in an extra-large, heavy-face type, with a view to pleasing men and women of the household of the faith who feel the need of a book of prayer with a very large type, either because their eye sight is impaired or because the dim light in some churches makes it very difficult to read the print usually found in prayer-books.

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**VARIOUS DISCOURSES.** By *Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.* 8vo., pp. 354. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

"These discourses are mainly on historical, sociological, ecclesiastical and educational topics. They are the remnants of thirty-five years or more of pulpit and platform work, which have already appeared in pamphlets or in the local press of different parts of the country. There are no sermons among them, properly so called, though several of them have been delivered in churches or at religious gatherings."

There are twenty-five of these discourses, all delivered on special occasions, beginning with the funeral of Father Hecker in 1888 and ending with the dedication of the Church of the Nativity, Brooklyn, in 1917. They include Consecrations of Bishops, Laying of Corner-stones, Dedication of Churches, Jubilee Celebrations of Individuals and Parishes and Monuments, and Educational and Historical Subjects.

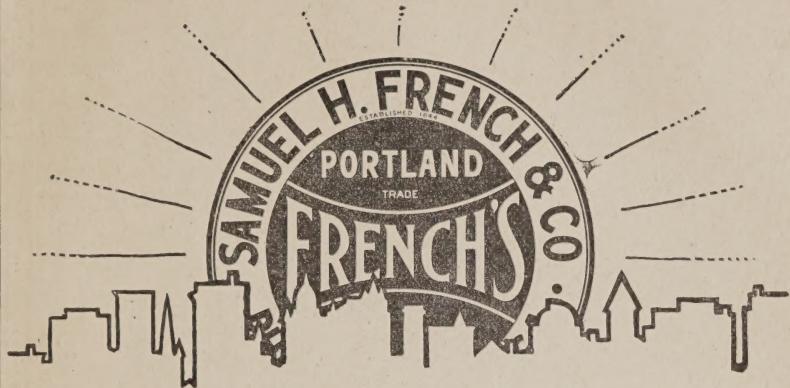
The collection covers a long period, because Father Campbell has already celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into the Society of Jesus; the occasions were important because of the author's prominence as rector and provincial for many years; their historical value is commensurate with his skill and reputation as an historian, and their literary excellence is of that high quality which comes only with natural ability, study and practice. They have a permanent value which entitles them to a permanent form, and they will appeal to all persons of intelligence and good judgment—priest and layman—with a force that will last.

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THE TIDEWAY. By *John Ayscough*, author of "San Celestino," "Faustula," etc. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The portrait of the author on the cover in chaplain's uniform reminds us that the din of battle has not silenced his pen. And yet this book does not prove that, because it is a collection of fifteen short stories which do not deal with the war. The author's "Trench Windows" is the most charming book that the war has produced, and it is not surprising that eight editions have been called for in England. In it Monsignor Drew like the true artist makes the reader see through his eyes the various scenes that passed before him while a chaplain in France during the first year of the war.

But this author puts his seal on all that he does. His style is very distinctive, and one can never mistake his work for that of another. We can hardly imagine John Ayscough writing an anonymous book. Of course we do not mean to say that all his work is of the same high order of excellence; no man's work is. It would not be fair, therefore, to compare his short stories with finished productions like "San Celestino" and "Faustula." We might as well compare an artist's sketch with an important painting. After all, a short story is generally not much more than a sketch. Admirers of the gifted author will welcome this collection and derive much pleasure from it. New readers who make his acquaintance through these short stories will be sure to follow him into other paths.



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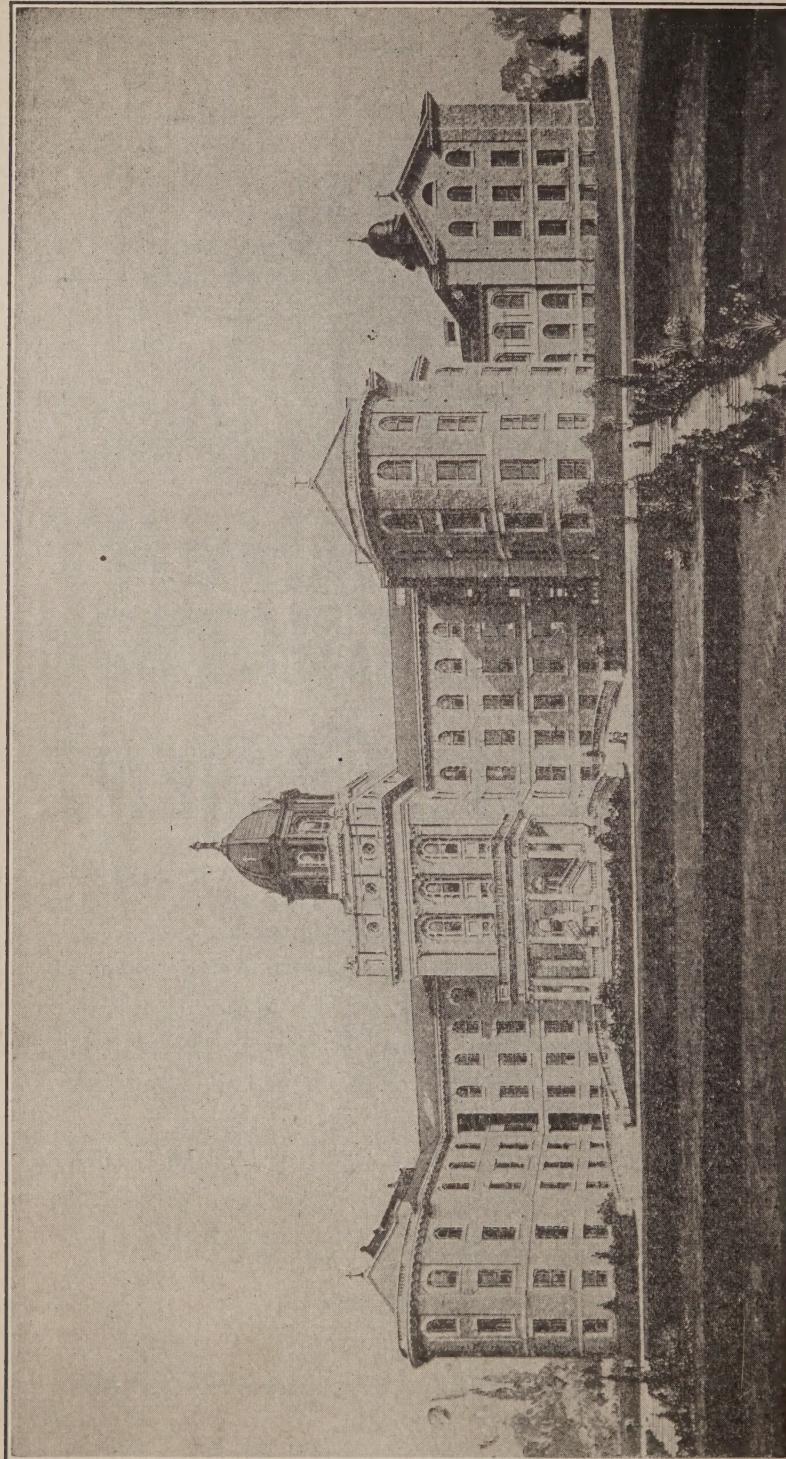
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